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EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

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We enter upon the second year of the QUARTERLY REVIEW neither greatly elated nor discouraged. Many words of cheer have reached us, and the REVIEW has received favorable notice from prominent journals of other churches, as well as of our own. It is believed that in paper, printing, and general make-up, it will compare favorably with the best Quarterlies of the day, and that in the substantial value of articles it has not been without merit. The liberal position of the REVIEW, if it has not secured the patronage of the whole Church, has at least commended itself to the judgment of candid men. That all have been pleased, was too much to expect, but the true friends of the REVIEW have shown their gratification at what has been accomplished. It is hoped that such encouragement will be afforded as to enable further improvement to be made.

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JANUARY, 1872.

ARTICLE I.

THE DYNAMICS OF SUCCESS.*

By M. VALENTINE, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College.

“Without me ye can do nothing.” John 15 : 5.

“I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me,” Phil.
4 : 13.

These passages of God’s word present the two sides of a truth, whose deep significance and broad sweep peculiarly entitle it to furnish the lessons of this hour. The process of subjective culture and mental discipline, designed in a College course, has advanced you to the point at which you turn to a professional training or business activity. You have reached a stage of outlook on life. The next step you take will transfer you into the activities in which your work is to be done and your mission achieved. You ought to take that step with a clear and sure view of the possibilities and condition of real prosperity. These statements of Scripture, taken together, give the needed light, and fully disclose *the Dynamics of Success in life*.

These passages, though simple and familiar, reach into the profoundest philosophy of practical life. They remind us of

* A Baccalaureate Discourse, to the Class of 1871, delivered June 25, 1871.

the forces and laws under whose action men must either achieve a worthy career, or suffer defeat. The assurance of Christ, the great Teacher, is that you cannot accomplish your work without Him. That of the apostle, that you can, by and through Christ. The negative and positive sides are both given—without Him failure, with Him success. It is in Christ, that man finds God. He is *Immanuel*, God-with-us, for our helpless race. In the work appointed us in life, whatever it be, there is a divine side, and a human side; a part that is ours, a part that is God's. The result is a result of a joint working, a concurrence and co-operation of the divine and human. Neither does the work without the other. God does not work man's work without him. Man cannot without God. So that while man must accomplish his own mission, the law is, "Without Christ, nothing," "With Him, all things." Here, we believe, in the concurrence of these two elements, in God's operation, and your co-operation with Him, you will find the real dynamics of success in life. Here you will discover the conditions of a prosperous accomplishment of the mission and work of life.

1. Other passages of the Scriptures present this truth and explain it. In their varied and repeated statement of it, they throw more and more light upon it, till it stands out not only in well-rounded fulness, but in the impressiveness of a grand law. It appears in the explanation St. Paul has given of the mystery of his Christian life: "*I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God,*" Gal. 2: 20. He here asserts the two elements, the human and the divine in combination, the two factors in the unity of the one life—"I live," "Christ liveth in me"—the activity and efficiency tied to neither one in separation from the other, but to the co-operation of himself and the Son of God, which his faith had brought about. This reveals the reason of that success, in which he finished his course with joy. It appears in the call of the same apostle to others: "*Work, * * * for it is God that worketh within you,*" Phil. 2: 12, 13. "Work"—there is man's part. "God worketh within you"—there is God's. The helplessness of

the human is removed by the presence of the divine: therefore, "Work." Man can work successfully, only because, God working, he is permitted to come into concurrence and co-operation with Him. And look at the familiar but grand passage: "*For we are laborers together with God:*" given by the apostle as presenting the truth out of which arose the fact, mentioned in preceding verses, of the joint action, "*Paul planting, Apollos watering,*" and "*God giving the increase,*" (1 Cor. 3 : 6—9), the divine and the human in concurrent aim and labor, and success flowing from the co-labor. The blessed conception this passage gives of life, when it is what it ought to be and is moving in the line of its true efficiency, is that men are exalted to a mysterious but real community of counsel with God, and a co-partnership with Him in working the successes that they reach. And you remember the language of St. Peter, "*His divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain to life and godliness * * * exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature,*" 2 Pet. 1 : 3, 4. The plan of life, designed for each man by God, contemplates the ending of the long, sad separation of the human from the divine, the touching of man's life again into the fountains of God's life, by which he passes from the condition of being able to do nothing. to ability to do all things. Hence the apostle's immediate call for fruitfulness: "Add to your faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness"—no longer "barren," but "abounding" in all those things in which a man's calling is made sure, and he shall never fall, or fail, in life's grand mission. And so surely and solemnly is this union and co-operation of the divine and human essential to life's work, that Jesus himself adds to the text the assurance, "*If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered*"—blighted as surely and completely out of the success which fulfils his intention, as the fallen branch is out of the fruitfulness appointed to it.

2. This condition of success, in the presence of the human and divine in mutual, concurrent action, the joint work in which man's helplessness and blindness receive God's power

and direction, is so pervasive as to be universal. It is illustrated wherever we look. We can touch down nowhere in Christian truth, in nature, in morals, or in history, without striking upon it. It makes up the warp and woof of the pattern into which our lives are formed; everywhere success is divine power and human agency acting together.

It is the central reality, and meaning of redemption. The mystery of that entire income of divinity into humanity, with its manger and wilderness, its transfiguration and Gethsemane, its Calvary and resurrection, its miracles and teaching, its Ascension and Pentecost, was to bring God and man together again, and turn the helplessness of the perishing into true life and rightful destiny. To defeated, prostrate humanity, under the tread of evil, unable to meet its obligations or do its work, comes down the divine, in the person of the Son, and the presence of the Spirit. And this great interposition which shows the necessity of the divine for the poor human, shows at the same time, the need there is of the *human*. It is only through the human that the divine comes into real achievement even in the work of atonement. The human in Christ was as real an element of redemption, as the divine. He was as truly the Son of Man, as he was the Son of God. It seems that when the remedial agencies came down into our weaknesses to touch them into power, the "Word had to become "flesh," "made under the law," so as to work by a power inside of men, and not outside—a supernatural power, indeed, but one whose activities should be those of our humanity brought into co-operation with it. The divine, coming within, engages and acts through the faculties and forces that belong to men. Heaven, in the law of this redemption, puts the divine power within, but in the dynamics of success, we are to work it out.

3. This truth is mirrored everywhere in nature. All the gains and attainments of daily life are conditioned in the synthesis, or union, and co-operation of these two factors. Everywhere, in earth, and air, and sea, and sky, God brings His working clearly to the surface, into union and co-operation with which we may move with effect. The system about

us is God's, filled with his forces and modes. We succeed by taking advantage of what God is doing, and uniting our activities with his laws. So the work of life is done. So the results of the world's activity come about. For instance, God gives a mind, and means of education and knowledge. But these are not enough. If alone, the result may be but a rude savage roaming amid the wealth of wild nature. You must add your part, educate and store the mind with the treasures you may mine and coin. So it is that you and God make the scholar. God and Newton made the author of the *Principia*. God gives soil and sky, and sunshine and rains, and seed with the mystery of germinal life. But man must put his part to it all, to bring the possibilities into actual fruits. So, you and God make the beautiful garden, the golden grain-fields, or the bread on your tables. The divine and the human are engaged in making every loaf that feeds our household. God makes His laws plain, for our apprehension and acceptance—His work uniform and simple, for our co-work. He turns nature's wheels in established ways, so that we may discover the secret, ascertain the operation, and, by seizing the line of movement, with the hand of science, or cunning invention, may bring in new results, or turn the forces into a grand productiveness of the the materials of happiness. We throw forth our bands about natures framework and movements, and they bring our wishes into realization. We thus put ourselves into a real co-partnership with God, in all the good attainments of daily life, and the broad and sublime activities that fill the world. In the grain that ripens on our fields, and the food that feeds the nation, in the noisy factories that weave our garments, or the furnaces that turn the ores of the rocks into wealth, in the ships that journey over the seas and bless the nations with the gifts of commerce, in the railroads that spread their iron lines, like a network, over all the land, and whose moving trains show the victory of science and skill, in the telegraph by which we speak to each other across the continents, or send the news of nations, uninterrupted, beneath and through the sounding oceans—in all these things, out of which are blossoming and

maturing the best prosperities of earth, it is the human, by obedience and knowledge and invention, getting into the secret and fellowship of the divine laws and action, and claiming the offered co-partnership. Helpless without them, in and by them we get power. In and by them God gives to our activity, broad and sure success. In the material world, things the mightiest as well as the gentlest, the lightnings that flash across the sky, as well as the dew that dissolves the perfume of the flowers, will work for our good, if we throw ourselves into harmony with the divine laws involved, and combine our activities with their powers. This is a shadow of the like reality in the moral world.

4. Evidence of the principle before us rises to view, when we look at what constitutes true success. Here our conceptions must be cleared from low, partial, or inadequate notions. Nothing can be emptier, or more of a sham, than much that men call success. It is often as false as jewelry that you see glitter without being gold or diamonds. It is a *mirage* that deceives thousands of the young that hasten toward it. It is not success, simply to be prosperous in business, to become wealthy, to achieve a brilliant literary or professional career, or sweep round the circle of the world's pleasures. Men may do all these things, in entire forgetfulness of the solemn import and purpose of life, and reach its end, in the midst of wealth, honor, or luxuries, debased in heart, rotten in character, and a bankrupt in all the elements of manhood which the work and discipline of life should bring to a blessed maturity. The meaning of life is greater than these separate and incidental things. Success must be weighed in a moral balance. Men have the different parts of their nature to develop, intellect, affections, will. They have a work to do. They have an end to reach. To do the work of blessing as they go along, to ripen and beautify their virtue, to carry all the character up to blessed and spiritual power, and stand at the close of life, with the riches of the past in hand, and ready to enter the joys of the better future—these things must be included in life's true success. It comes sometimes without any of the incidental prosperities the thoughtless

often suppose constitute successful life. Men come into the highest successes, even in the midst of worldly failure. This is seen when they live for the truth, and stand in the breach for the right, when they fill their character with shining excellence and their lives with self-renouncing ministries, when in contest with evil and service to humanity, they have sacrificed riches, pleasures and fame. They may have seemed to be losers, but they have gained in their very losses, and sometimes have wrought an aggregate and broad success that has made mankind their debtors. In God's pure sight only the good life is a real and eternal success. The striking expression of A'Kempis, "What thou art in the sight of God, thou truly art," states the great truth whose light must disclose what is success.

That this conception of success demands the restoration of man's union with God, the joint operation and efficiency of the energies of both, is made plain by the very statement of it. The spiritual interests of your nature, the purity, peace and power of your essential being, the attainment of the inner wealth of soul, which you may carry out of time over into an immortal future, require not only a partaking of the divine nature, but a co-working of your powers with supernatural power, and of it with yours. The human left without the divine, sinks down out of the sphere of the higher life, runs on in activities amid temporal and carnal things in which apparent success may be intrinsic and real defeat. And no amount of industry and external gains, no possible degree of gayety and pleasures, no conceivable attainment of honors and applause, will constitute the accomplishment of those sublime designs, in which you may be able to say, "I have finished the work Thou gavest me to do"—"My career has been a success!"

5. This truth is impressively confirmed by History—national, social, and personal.

In the history of pagan nations, we see the working of but *false* religions. But in the action of even a false idea of the divine in human life, we have a shadow of that of the true. In the early national life, say of Greece or Rome, when the

fellowship of the people with the supernatural was close, it entered into their very hearts, took hold of their activities, and there was force, energy, vigor, and growth. Men met the divine everywhere, on earth and sea, on mountain and in valley, in grove and stream; and though the conception of it was mistaken, they grasped life and power in their blind seizure of the power above them. But you all know, that in after periods, when speculative discussions brought in unbelief, dissipated the apprehended presence of God, and left men without any thing divine to hang on for co-operation, though the culture became high and clear, the point of national weakness and decay, deterioration and failure was reached. The nation that became cultured, by unfortunately becoming also atheistic and sundering its life from conscious connection with the divine, brought on its own death, and the only perfected languages are the dead languages.

We read the lesson on nearer pages of history. France, in the revolution of 1789, rose to shake itself in its strength and undo the grasp of oppression. It so happens, that the union of Church and State in European nations identifies religion with all the odium of the secular tyranny exercised by the same hand, and brings it under the hatred of every movement for more liberal government, and human rights. So the Revolution at once divorced itself from the divine, voted God and His Church out from the new order of things. The leaders put God away from their love and life, thrust Him out of their counsels, recognized no dependence on the divine, sought no divine aid. The movement was left without a pulse of the divine life, without a shred of divine strength to hold it up, and it sank down into human weakness, anarchy and failure—drenching the country in woes whose sounds filled the world with pity and awe. It was God saying, from the throne to the atheistic struggle of men for freedom, "Without me ye can do nothing."

The lesson is emphasized on the unfinished page of this year's history of Europe. In the contest of strength between Prussia and France, it soon became apparent that the one nation was recognizing its dependence on God, lifting its

hopes and prayers to Him, crowding its sanctuaries of worship, clasping its hands on His strength, and the other had little consciousness of the divine in its life, was struggling in proud human self-assertion, and disregard of God. The end came quickly, and the mighty capital of France was traversed by the victorious legions of the enemy. Then followed scenes that riveted the gaze of mankind. The populace, without any divine life, cleft, by infidelity and atheism, from any living union with God and supernatural virtue and order, rushed off into mob-anarchy and rebellion, blotted out the Church of Christ from among them, and strove to assert the victory of humanity and freedom. The horrors of the fearful drama have sounded round the world; and the helplessness of the human, when it cuts itself off from the divine is seen in the appalling failure into which the boastful effort has sunk down. And while the great endeavor of the atheistic Commune has come to nought, and lies buried in the ruins of the pride of the gorgeous city it would have made the capital of European freedom, the disconnected parts of the Germanic race, that in a Bible faith reached up their hands to God, have been drawn and compacted together in the unity and strength of a grand, free, German Empire. It means, that to discard God is failure; to work in the unity of His truth and life, is success.

This law is revealed in the results of all movements among men, in which the human element alone is invoked. It accounts for the failure, in the 15th and 16th centuries, of the party of so-called Humanists, striving to bring in a reformation of morals and life, by a return to Grecian philosophy and literary culture, apart from the Church and the divine life of Christianity. Though it embodied the highest talent and most finished culture of the age, it was impotent and fruitless. But the monk of Germany, from the cloister at Erfurt, opening the Bible, bringing the life and force of the divine into human hearts, the whole movement at once the work of God and the work of man, the two factors, in their co-relation and concurrent working, came into a success that

is brightening all the earth with blessings. You readily recall an illustrative fact in English history. The Elizabethan age of English literature covers a period of highest and most brilliant success in letters. It was an age of great national vigor and intellectual activity. But it was a time of clear and strong religious conviction, close communion of life with the spiritual and divine. It ran even into superstition, and so strong was the belief in the supernatural, that even witchcraft was an article of faith with some of the most learned. But the age of Pope followed, when through a flood of skeptical writings, atheistic and irreligious sentiment came in. Christian sentiment declined, life lost its conscious hold of God, and it turned the preceding age of strength and success into one of the weakest and most barren periods of English literature. The soil of the merely human proved unfruitful. So with all *humanitarian* systems, even of religion. When, as in the case of Unitarianism, they build not upon the divine Christ, in whom men may find the strength of God, but on a merely human Jesus, they have always demonstrated, that leaving out the supernatural power, they have been unable to accomplish their supernatural work. They move among men doing a sort of human work, but they are enfeebled, by breaking their right connection with God, by pushing back and out of view the divine element, and are shorn of power to do the work of God. "That which is born of the flesh proves to be flesh, the fountain not bubbling on the summit, never reaches there." It is a mysterious, but grand truth, that depravity, sin and helplessness being accepted as a fact, and felt by men even with almost crushing weight, they yet rise and come into victory by accepting and using the saving aid of the divine grace, but whenever humanity, denying any supernatural need, undertakes to rise in and of itself, it wears itself away by the endeavor, and falls back into failure. It is the old riddle of the apostle, "When I am weak, then am I strong."

Here is the fatal defect in the theory of scientific culture of the present day—over against the literary and religious

theories. It would regenerate the world and bring in a new era, superseding our old faiths and religions. Proceeding on the principles of Positivism, it employs the human mind only with phenomena and their laws, relations, and successions. It denies the possibility of the knowledge of anything beyond matter and force, and teaches to ignore the existence of supernatural verities, and treat the supposed higher realm of spiritual truth and faith as blank. It does not ascend beyond nature, locks up thought and knowledge within the hard limits of its material laws. This is the new gospel of science, whose apostles are the Buckles, the Tyndalls, the Spencers, the Huxleys of the British Isle, and some scientists and infidels of less note in America. This is to bring in the millennium of humanity. But the culture recognizes no element higher than human; the system never ascends out of nature. Man himself is the highest recognized personality of the universe. It has no God to look to, to trust, or love. It has no inspirations or uplifting power from any thing divine. It is altogether of the earth, earthy; and though pressed with all the energy of great intellect and brilliant learning, it is showing itself to be barren of all moral, or spiritual or beneficent power for our poor sin-smitten race. Having no factors of power other than human, it can never give our broken humanity success in any of the aspects of its higher life or spiritual mission. It will run its time and rot down, in its separation from all the divine demanded by the dynamics of success.

6. The principle receives confirmation when thrown under the light of the truth of Providence. The hand of God is, indeed, seen in all nature, in the changing seasons, the refreshing showers, the ripened grain, and the enameled flowers. But God is also in History. The history of the world is an inexplicable riddle, till viewed in the light of the cross, and the purposes of redemption. The centre of this world's mysterious movement is seen where the God-man is re-uniting the divine and human, and putting them into harmony and co-operation. All the lines of the earlier ages moved on to

the cross—all subsequent ones have their departure and force and direction from it. Calvary is the central and all-interpreting fact of human history. The kingdom of Christ, founded in suffering and blood, and carried forward by the might of renewing and sanctifying grace, is bending all the lines of history toward the goal to which the earth is to come. The meaning of the ages is pushing on toward the ends of God's redeeming love. The currents bear toward them, by the guiding hand of an all-wise and almighty Providence. It is one of the clearest and grandest truths, that the Providential government of the world is in the interest of Christianity, of truth, and right. God is working on through human instrumentalities. The movements that appear in the visible world originate in the invisible. "The apparently tangled thread of human affairs and of earthly events, meet above us, and are held by the hand of the holy and almighty Ruler of the world." Men may ride in triumph in the chariot of God's providences, or they may be dragged as captives and crushed under its wheels. That which disposes itself in co-operative connection with His purposes, will grow strong under His shield, but every thing that flings itself across the track of His world-conquering power, is destined, sooner or later, to be dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel. If you work together with God, your life is carried into success. If you are out of harmony with Him, His providential government will push your conflicting aims and efforts aside into defeat. It is on the current of God's plans and providential purposes, you are to launch your bark. Here it is that you are to find the tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

This subject has a double lesson to you, my young friends, who are now brought to face the great work of life.

1. The first is one of earnest admonition, to bring your whole lives and all their activities into harmony and co-operation with God. You see the dependence of the human on the divine. And you see the dependence of the divine on the human! Yes, the dependence of the divine on the hu-

man! God will not, and—with reverence be it spoken—cannot do your work without engaging your activities. Just as when in the mystery of redemption, it was necessary for the very Son of God to get our humanity into union with Himself, in order that the divine might be successful in bringing man to his true end, so it is still. The divine becomes successful, so far as our work and destiny are concerned, only through the human. In a true and solemn sense, God's operation is conditioned in our co-operation. And you can do nothing, absolutely nothing, without God. He and you must be laborers together. Talents, of body and mind, time, opportunities and means, are His contribution to the end intended with you. If you are looking to the pulpit as your special work, it is God and you that are to make you a successful minister. If you turn to the medical profession, it is God and you that are to make the good physician. If your aim is the law, it is God and you that are to make you a true lawyer. If you intend business, God and you are to make you a successful business man. You must do your part. There is but little chance for a lazy man in this world. He will not get much out of his opportunities. He will not win much from the furnished conditions. His possibilities will fall and perish, like empty buds of spring. What failures of manhood, of excellence, and usefulness, strew the way of human life, from this cause. How many, furnished with richest talents and finest chances, have become the merest ciphers—nothing in themselves, and of no use in the world. How have the divine possibilities in men been dwarfed, and wasted and brought to nought, by the failure of the human side—men failing to work out the possibilities which God had worked within and about them! How often do you see men well-endowed by nature, furnished with abundant gifts and inner capabilities, but standing idle, useless, with the rust and dust on their decaying, unused energies, perhaps like an old mill by the wayside, from which the stream of water is withheld, all silent, and still, moss-grown, and rotting down. Do not undervalue the importance of the human part. Men

are ever prone to swing to extremes on this point—some attributing everything to God, and therefore waiting idly for Him to do the work—others putting it all on the human, and feeling no dependence. But it is just because God worketh hitherto, and ever works, that men are to work. And you are to do it with a strong grasp on God,—that grasp that is nerved by the feeling that without Him you can do nothing, but with Him all things. First of all, as essential to the successful attainment of the great and solemn destiny of your being—that without which it had been better that you had never been born—give, if you have not already done so, your poor, guilty humanity the life and strength of the divine in Jesus Christ. Then, take God into your counsel every day—in determining your profession, and in all the manner and principles of carrying it on. Harmonize your plans and sentiments with His. Work together with Him—to His aims, with His methods. Do your part in God's strength.

2. The other is a lesson of cheer and encouragement. If you do these things, you shall never fail. Life is a race in which, not one alone, but all, may win. There is no need that any one of you shall fail. You can do so, only by your own fault, in disregard of the conditions of success, either on the human or the divine side, or both. You are helpless in yourself. But, just as the fragile ivy, that alone, must lie soiled and perishing in the dust, may lift itself by the strong oak, your weakness may find strength, and rise, in God, into successes that are more than half divine. Possibly you may not gain riches, or distinction, or a high tide of worldly pleasure. You may meet affliction, and be pressed in the narrows of worldly adversity. But if you hold your life in union with Christ, and your activities in co-operation with the divine, you will come to your true end in triumph—as a vessel entering into port with its full freight of joy. "Time and the hour" may "run through the roughest day," but you will not be wrecked. You will feel that you are in harmony with the great universe in the midst of which you are placed. You will be strengthened in knowing that your endeavors find

sympathy and response in the purpose of Him who rules the world. Your life will be a perpetual blessing, working out good to yourself, and good to others. And at last you will carry up to heaven all that this life on earth is meant to yield to faith and love and duty, and hear the approval, in which is given the divine judgment of success, "Well done—enter into the joy of thy Lord."

ARTICLE II.

LESSONS OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

By Prof. E. FERRIER, of Pennsylvania College.

The humiliation of France, and the elevation of Prussia to the front rank among the European powers, are events of peculiar interest, in our study of the past year. The result of that brief but eventful conflict, took the world by surprise. All calculations based on past history and experience have been set aside. Such an entire reversal of the fortunes of the two nations was quite unlooked for, for the triumphant entry of the first Napoleon in Berlin has been more than equalled by the victorious and resistless march of the Prussians through the very streets of Paris. Jena has been more than matched by Sedan. King William must feel quite avenged for the death of his mother, Queen Louisa, who is thought to have died of the mortifications, consequent on the disastrous defeat of 1806.

It is for the annalist to trace the outward course of events, which marked this critical change in national fortunes. The historian and the moralist may read the political, social, and educational lessons for other times, and for other nations. The chief value of history is to indicate those characteristics which constitute true national glory, or to point out those causes which lead to national decay and failure. The recent European war may be regarded as a struggle between two

kinds of culture, or training, and thus becomes specially instructive. It may almost be said to be two kinds of civilization, wrestling with each other for the supremacy. He who fittingly writes the history of the conflict, must assume the responsibility of clearly exhibiting the training which has given such marked efficiency to one party, and the causes which have made the other the scorn of the world.

One of the very first lessons which have been impressed upon our minds is, how the glare of a false national glory may impose on our imaginations, and blind our eyes to the real condition of things. Before this struggle, France exhibited the appearance of a healthy and powerful empire. The affection of the artisan population of Paris had been purchased by vast sums of money, lavished on public buildings, which made the capital the most brilliant city of Europe. Huge armaments were projected. The army was kept full by a conscription, which touched the remotest village in the land. France has long claimed to be the most martial nation in Europe. Her military system has for centuries been regarded as the most thorough of any, and the whole world looked with profound respect upon the series of imposing experiments for testing the efficiency of weapons, and regarded the decision as final, which pronounced the Chassepot and the Mitrailleuse the resistless arbitrators of war. With a seeming overweening confidence in her resources, she wantonly provoked the war, and exhibited the wildest confidence in victory. The French regiments marched out in all the pride of vain-glorious expectation, feeling assured of realizing from the spoils of conquest that traditional dream of French ambition, the Rhine frontier. So imposing and so impressive were these demonstrations, that even Germany was deceived. The Prussians from the beginning were grave, calm and anxious. They behaved like men about to march down to death. On more than one public occasion, King William recognized the gravity of the crisis, and referred the decision of the contest then opening to the God of battles. In the eyes of the superficial looker on, France never seemed so strong,

whether you consider the hold of Napoleon on the peasantry, or the size and brilliancy of the army, as on the day when the Duc de Gramont insulted the finest trained nation in Europe. Eight millions of the population had just approved of the new constitutional policy, and the multitude of observers supposed that Napoleon must be enthroned in the hearts of the people. But war is a terrible searcher out of national weaknesses. When the fiery trial tested this imposing appearance, it was found to be hollow. There was scarcely a shadow of reality. The lesson should have peculiar value for Americans, for as a people, our guilt is well nigh as deep as that of the French, in accepting pretence for substance. In our society, and in our institutions, we are strongly disposed to favor the ostentatious, and to be carried away with the glitter of falsehood. The merest names kindle our fervency. More than most people, we are the "prisoners of phrases," and the words *sham* and *shoddy* have become common and authorized words in our vocabulary.

It will not be denied that the signal failure of French arms may be traced to immediate causes, but these proximate ones are closely connected with remote agencies which had been working for generations in the heart of society. It is true, at the outset, their military preparations were not on a scale corresponding with the vast enterprise in hand. When the trial came, the soldiers seemed destitute alike of discipline and endurance. The Generals were deficient in knowledge of the country and in military tactics, and appeared to fight in the shadow of a terrible fatality which depressed their spirits, and crippled their energies. In marked contrast with this inefficiency and impotence, the Germans, while burning with the ardor of old crusaders, moved with the precision of machines. Every department was systematically and carefully looked after, even the uninteresting details of the quartermaster and commissary service. The whole mass of trained forces was wielded with almost as much ease and precision as the movements of a single battalion. From this startling contrast, the question is at once asked, why the compactness

and rigid organization of the one, and the marked weakness of the other?

The one word which will express the difference between the two nationalities, is the word *discipline*—thorough, intelligent discipline. Prussia has been systematically engaged in the work, both military and educational, for sixty years. It is one of the grandest things on the pages of modern history, the persistent and calm determination to repair the losses consequent on the terrible disaster at Jena. It is obvious to every one, that a very important element of Prussian superiority is her military system. It would be quite out of place to present here the details of this system, but the fundamental principle is, every Prussian must have a military education sufficient to make him a good soldier. The age of conscription is twenty. At that time, every man in the kingdom is enrolled in the army. The period of military service is respectively, three, four, and five years; three years being passed by the recruit with the colors of a regular regiment, the next four years with the regimental reserve, and the final period of five years in the Landwehr, or militia of his district, after which he is enrolled in the Landsturm, or service for home defence, in case of invasion. The army is always kept ready for action, while the officers and soldiers, by the instruction imparted by the yearly field manœuvres, learn as much of the business of war, as it is possible to learn in time of peace. Thus the vast proportion of the population is practiced in the use of arms, accustomed to discipline, and inured in some degree, to the hardships of camp life. This theory, rigidly carried out from year to year, makes the Prussian army one of the most singular character. By the side of the peasant mechanic, are the student, the man whose eminence in learning it may be has given him a world-wide fame, and the professor from his class-room in the university. This perfection of a military system has been the traditional policy of the rulers, and from king to king, it has been handed down as a sacred charge, that the entire nation must be ready, at a few hours warning, for the march and the camp.

With this completeness of system in the art of military

tactics, always, even in times of profoundest peace, keeping the nation on a war footing, must be connected the Prussian system of education. That system has long been the admiration of the world. The fact of its being compulsory has raised the masses to an extraordinary range of general intelligence. It is surprising what Germany has done for the advancement and diffusion of learning. At Bonn, in a chemical laboratory, twenty thousand pounds sterling were expended in a single year, and at Heidelberg, in a similar scientific school, forty thousand pounds. Würtemberg, small as she is, during the last five years, has given more to the cause of higher education, than all France, and in the kingdom of Würtemberg, in 1840, there was not a single child ten years of age that could not read and write. "It is the school-house behind the bayonet and the needle-gun that give them their deadly effect. It is the mind that inspires the discipline with its amazing power." An address recently delivered by Baron Justus von Liebig before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, has the following paragraph: "The re-establishment of the German Empire, and the uninterrupted victories of the German armies, stand in close relation to the disasters that sixty-six years ago demolished the state of Frederick the Great, in consequence of the torpidity and soulless routine into which it had sunk. Happily, the only way to heal the bleeding wounds of the state, to reanimate its paralyzed body, and to infuse into it new life and vigor, was then chosen by Prussia, to the salvation of Germany, in the foundation of the University of Berlin. The material means and forces of the state having become exhausted, an appeal to the inexhaustible fund of intellectual resources was made. It was determined that German science should be made the spring out of which the rejuvenated life of the prostrated state was to flow. From that time, we see the Prussian people hard at work to avail themselves of the power, which knowledge gives, and in 1866, and again in 1870 and 1871, we have witnessed the results or fruits of their earnest exertions. It is indisputable that the results of a war—victory or defeat—must have their causes, ascertainable with the same certainty

and accuracy as the conditions of a natural phenomenon ; and if we study the history of wars with that view, and on the basis of an exact method of natural philosophy in general, it cannot for a moment be doubted that the accurate determination and knowledge of the essential factors of success or non-success, have constituted the real strength of the Prussian strategy. The physical sciences, teaching us how to make use of the forces participating in warlike exploits or events, are not only diligently cultivated at the Berlin University, but form a leading discipline in the military high-school. Science has triumphed over empiricism in the wars of 1866, 1870 and 1871."

The objection may be made, have we not in this rigid compulsory, conscriptive system as complete Absolutism as ever cursed ancient Rome or modern France? It is scarcely necessary to state that Imperialism cannot exist amid such intelligence as we have indicated. An educated nation with arms in its hands, and taught how to use them, can not be enslaved. Prussia has a constitutional government, representing the intelligent public sentiment of the kingdom. The elections of the popular branch are indirect, as our elections for President and Vice-President. Every man at the age of twenty-five, and paying a certain tax, may vote for a direct elector, and the direct electors choose the members. While this arrangement furnishes a competent check on royal power, it keeps the control of the Lower House in the hands of the substantial classes. All taxes and financial projects must originate with this body, as in England with the House of Commons, or in this country, in the House of Representatives, while the Prussian House of Lords must accept or reject the proposed plan entire, without the right of amendment. It will thus be seen, from this brief statement, that Prussian success is not the fruit of a bloody conscription, robbing every family of its first-born. It is the expected natural result of an educational and military training which has been carried to a higher degree of perfection perhaps than in any other nation. Every soldier has an intelligent apprehension of the principles and informing ideas of the government. He

is not driven to the front before the pressure of a merciless imperialism, but his bosom glows in warmest sympathy with the spirit of the government. Loyalty, patriotism are not mere names for impetuous and half-blind devotion to an unknown cause, but a lofty state of heart, based on an appreciation of the principles which have been espoused, and a love for the government under whose banner he goes forth to battle.

This political lesson may be a seasonable one for the nations. War is just as congenial with the human passions as ever. Ravaged territory, plundered houses, oppressed citizens and burning towns, are as possible in the nineteenth as in any past century. With all the boasted progress in civilization, it is a fact that the tempest of war may burst out in a day from the clearest sky. We well remember Dr. Wayland's ingenious argument, delivered in 1850 before the Peace Society, that the interests of commerce were now so great, and the horrors of war had been so increased by the perfection of weapons, that a protracted war was quite impossible. The events of the last ten years have proved the utter worthlessness of these statements. Science has sharpened and burnished the weapons of war, but those weapons have been used with more deadly effect, the horrors of war beyond question have been intensified, and whole nations are involved in controversies on the most paltry prettexts. In a practical point of view, it seems almost empty verbiage to talk of the consciousness of a righteous cause, or moral influence, or the restraints of civilization. It sounds finely when Nevison Loraine, lecturing in London on the horrors of war asks: "Are men to go on at this devil's game of war? Can the genius of nations devise no other or better method for the settlement of national disputes than war? War is a barbarism—an anachronism. In Europe in this age it should be a sheer impossibility." It is enough to kindle such burning words, when we reflect that at this hour, though Europe is in a state of peace, there are nearly six millions of men, six hundred thousand horses, twelve thousand pieces of artillery, and one thousand mitrailleuses devoted to war—eating up the profits

of trade, paralyzing industry, and impoverishing the nations. We have the fullest faith in the realization of those pictures which inspiration has drawn for our encouragement—pictures of kings and queens who shall be fathers and mothers in the Church—pictures of kingdoms whose entire home and foreign policy shall be administered on the strictest principles of the gospel, and whose ruler shall really be the Lord from heaven, but the millennial season has not yet dawned, and until its arrival, national policy must be directed more or less by the actual condition of the world. We are warranted in assuming that wars will arise, and that there may be wars of the most righteous character, and that the life of a soldier may be in keeping with a true devotedness to the cause of Christ. It cannot be forgotten that Christ himself said of a Roman centurion, "I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel," without even a word that his business as a soldier was inconsistent with his position as a follower of Christ, and that the very first of Peter's Gentile converts was a centurion, who was permitted after his conversion to pursue the duties of his profession. Disraeli, in pressing this matter on the attention of the English people, says: "A nation must not only be strong, it must be ready. It must have at command an organization able, at the shortest possible notice, to throw its whole strength into a single blow. An adequate army, sufficiently trained and supplied in all its branches to take the field in three weeks, is now a simple condition of national safety."

It is a matter for congratulation, that the Prussian theory of compulsory education has awakened an unusual interest in our own country. In one or two instances, it has been tried with good results. We greatly need some such provision in the whole land, to give greater efficiency to our liberal endowments of schools and colleges. Our boasted free-school system falls far short of its highest and best results. It is not enough to keep wide open the doors of our school-houses. On the simple principle of self-preservation, if on no other, government has the right not only to make the most liberal provision for the education of the masses, but of compelling

the people to avail themselves of the proffered opportunities. It is the sheerest nonsense to raise the objection of danger in borrowing a theory from monarchy for the more vigorous working of our free institutions. A government that fosters or permits ignorance among the masses, is springing a mine beneath its own walls. In 1852, there were fifteen hundred children in the city of Boston reported as not attending the public schools, and not under any training whatever; in New York the number must be very much greater, while the fact repeats itself in every town and village in the land. It cries to us like a trumpet of judgment. Pour all the light possible in upon the minds and hearts of the people. Open paths to honor and usefulness from the veriest hovel, and awaken in the breast of the most obscure a sense of self-respect, and kindle the hope of becoming better and greater.

"Neither vice nor guilt,
 Debasement undergone by body or mind,
 Nor all the misery forced upon my sight
 * * * could overthrow my trust
 In what we *may* become.
 * * * What one is,
 Why may not millions be?"

In the particulars which have been indicated, France is the very opposite of Prussia. The principle of obedience is utterly broken down. Many of the sorest disasters which have come upon the nation during the last half century, may be traced to the feebleness of the principle of government. Revolution has become a chronic disease. It matters little what may be the form of established authority, the idea of submission seems to find no permanent lodgement in the heart. The whole social training and discipline of the French people have been thoroughly demoralizing. The insubordination of the French soldiers was one of the most noticeable proximate causes of German success. Government after government is gravely erected, and then cast down as but a plaything. This state of things for a long series of years, has filled the hearts of both rulers and subjects with a sense of insecurity. Confidence is destroyed, industry is paralyzed,

and all those arts of civilized life that crown a nation with glory are neglected. Men will not go out in schemes of enterprise and industry, unless they feel beneath their feet the support of a stable government. It may be safely affirmed that the bane of France has been the repeated attempts to establish Absolutism, making Paris and a few cities the centre, the brain, and all the remainder of the vast empire as only limbs to follow the dictation of the nervous centres. The favorite maxim of Louis XIV. was, *L'état c'est moi*. The forms have changed from time to time, but the narrow and ruinous policy of imperialism has been the same under all administrations, it mattered little whether Louis, Robespierre or Napoleon, or Gambetta were at the head of affairs. It is reported that Napoleon III., a short time since, remarked that he had but one remorse, and that was, that his government would render self-government in France more than ever impossible. This unscrupulous centralization which trampled on the rights of the people, or kept them in the deepest ignorance, has tainted and corrupted every thing in the nation. The fact was brought most clearly to light in the late conflict, that the masses of the people, specially those remote from the centres, are in a state of the most degrading ignorance. It was said at Sadowa, in 1866, it is not the needle-gun which has conquered, but the school-master. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* says: "We can not declare it too loudly, it is ignorance which has lost us France. Ignorance in diplomacy, which knowing neither the history, nor the language, nor the traditions of Germany, deceived the Emperor as to the attitude likely to be assumed by the different states. Ignorance in generals, who had never studied either the organization of the Prussians, or their tactics, or their progress, or the lessons of the campaign of 1866, or the quality of their leaders. Ignorance in the officers, who, accustomed to fight against Arabs, have been constantly surprised, confounded, bewildered in their own country. Ignorance in the soldiers, who, considering the German as a brute to be driven with the butt-ends of their musket, lost all their self-possession, when confronted by men as brave as themselves, more famil-

lar with the ground than their own captains, and with skill enough to make a far more intelligent and deadly use of an inferior weapon. Ignorance without bound or limit in a press which cried à Berlin, as if it were a mere question of a military promenade." While such progressive men as Pelletan and Jules Favre have been crying from year to year, "There must be millions for education, or France is lost," the government bent on its desperate purpose of Absolutism, has turned a deaf ear to the cry and to the warning. It has been diligently sowing to the wind, and is now reaping the whirlwind. As a matter of course, this suicidal policy of keeping the people in ignorance may have been necessary, for it as true to-day, as when the first of the proud Plantagenets sat on the throne of England,

"A sceptre snatched with an unruly hand,
Must be as boisterously maintained as gained;
And he that stands upon a slippery place,
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up;
That John may stand, then Arthur needs must fall;
So be it, for it cannot be but so."

It should be remembered that from one point of view, there are three distinct classes among the population of France. First, there is a party zealously engaged in the work of higher education, a class who have devoted themselves with uncommon ardor to the interests of science, and who have placed their country in the front rank, for original and successful investigation. This party, with but occasional exceptions, takes but little interest in public matters. Their influence on political questions is scarcely felt, and it seemingly little concerns them, if they are unmolested in their work, whether Napoleon, or Gambetta, or M. Thiers be at the head of the government. To understand the second class, it should be stated that the land in France has been almost indefinitely divided, and that there are millions of peasant-peers, each one lord of his one or two acres. This peasant-lord is immersed in the profoundest ignorance. He can neither read nor write. He is the passive tool of the priest,

who lays him down at the feet of each successive despot. A liberally minded peasant is quite unknown. As the ruling power takes its place on the throne, it sends out its agents to put the new seal of the dynasty on each of these title-deeds, and the poor man is made to believe if the dynasty falls, the deed becomes worthless, and his farm must be surrendered. This dense, dark mass of ignorance, for centuries has been the stronghold of civil and religious oppression. The most active agents of tyranny in keeping the light of education from these homes are the priests of the Romish Church. They are the veriest tools of absolutism. Hence in the eyes of the more intelligent, the Church is but another name for oppression, and we are not at all surprised that in those periodical outbreaks, the work of men who are by no means criminals in the ordinary sense, but professing to be animated in the work of destruction by the best of motives, the churches and cathedrals, and priests and bishops, should be the special objects of attack. They are the supporters of tyranny, and behind those massive piles of architecture, and imposing ritualistic displays, are intrenched the foes of French liberty and progress. It is exceedingly significant, that for the last one hundred years, the chair of an archbishop has been no more secure a place than the throne of the king.

But there is a third class to which the attention must be turned. The farm of the peasant at most is only a few acres, and cannot be subdivided. The sons must leave the paternal roof, and find refuge in the nearest town. There is no opportunity for following the vocation of the father, hence from these almost unnumbered homes, from year to year, there is a steady line of march to the towns and cities, so that those centres become crowded with men, asking for labor in some form. As the supply greatly outruns the demand, vast numbers are doomed to idleness, and consequent vice and crime. As we have shown, it is no wonder that wages are depressed to a starvation point, that industry can find no open channels for effort, and that the great towns present the strange spectacle of men fighting with each other for bread. The insta-

bility of the government has driven out the spirit of enterprise. Men will not risk their capital on revolutionary soil, and if they use it at all, it will be on some passing pleasure, for the change of the next hour may wrest it from them forever. These large numbers who have left the farms, and congregated in the cities where the mind is more active, and where intelligence is usually of a higher order, soon discover the secret of their unhappy condition. This third class, then, is largely made up of the artisans, who act so conspicuous a part in every revolutionary movement. It was this large and dangerous party, whose favor Napoleon felt the necessity of propitiating, by giving them work on the public buildings of Paris. Hence the gold of the nation was lavishly expended in building barracks and palaces, in gilding monuments, the dome of the Invalides and the roof of Saint Chapelle. That this class is restless, revolutionary and extreme, can not be denied. It is the dangerous element in every country. In 1857, Lord Macaulay wrote a somewhat striking letter to Mr. H. S. Randall of New York, on this very topic of an overcrowded, restless, idle, artisan population, in connection with the evils of indiscriminate franchise. He wrote: "The day will come when in the State of New York, a multitude of people, not one of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature. On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue, ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working man who hears his children crying for bread? Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century, as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and

Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions." The only thing that can save us from the realization of this prophetic picture, next to the shaping and assimilating power of our Christianity, is the fact that the rich and broad acres of the West open to every man of industry and earnest purpose a home, and that a vigorous system of education awakens in every bosom a sense of self-respect, and intelligent attachment to the institutions which shield him. It is a hopeful sign for any people, when the working classes, having enjoyed the means of a better education, by their thrift and habits of association, take their share in the industrial and landed interests. If the solid mass of French peasant-proprietors could only be rescued from their state of deplorable ignorance, and delivered from the control of the Romish priesthood, it would be an invincible element of order. This diffusion of landed property among so large a number of families, if those families can be educated and brought under the influences of the Bible, will make each home in the land a tower of strength for the government. What is most of all needed for the solid reconstruction of society, is an intelligent middle-class, that may moderate between the extremes of absolutism and anarchy. Such a class is entirely wanting, and one of the darkest omens of the times is the bitter and uncompromising hostility between the two factions. One would establish, with the help of the ignorant, superstitious peasantry, a central government which allows the provinces no rights of representation, and would make Paris not merely the capital of France, but France itself; while the fanatical cry of the other extreme is, "destruction from the very foundations, and the entire re-organization of society." The animating sentiment of this party is, that all the existing ideas about property, marriage, inheritance, justice and religion, on which the political and social arrangements of the civilized world are based, are radically wrong, and but inventions of the aristocratic and the rich for oppressing the poor.

What the future of France will be, no one would venture to predict. The signs are not hopeful. If it be a republic,

it will be a "republic without republicans." The mere change of form will not reverse the character of the people. There seems to be a lamentable dearth of public men. There are no leaders who have the confidence of the parties, or who can guide the counsels of the nation. This is one of the natural fruits of imperialism. As long ago as 1829, Lord Palmerston wrote, "Bonaparte crushed everybody, both in politics and war; he allowed no one to act and think but himself, and has left therefore, nothing but generals of divisions, and heads of departments—no man fit to command an army or govern a country." It will assuredly require a somewhat protracted and rigid discipline to break the force of these disorganizing principles which have been working for so many years. If France can only acknowledge and feel the deep humiliation, and quietly and vigorously set at work the proper agencies to repair the losses, it may yet be well. The vanquished may draw more advantages from the defeat, than the conquerors can possibly from the victories. Eugene Pelletan asks: "Whence dates the present greatness of Prussia?" and answers, "From Jena, when she lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon. Cut to pieces, exhausted by requisitions and contributions of war, ruined, almost effaced from the map of Europe, it was in the depth of her fall, that she laid the foundations of the institutions which make her so powerful to-day." There can be no question that the chastisements of God are wholesome, and that the sore punishments of Providence have been blessed in many instances, as means of national strength and improvement. But the good result is made entirely dependent on the spirit with which these chastisements are received. In this very thing we detect one of the worst omens for the future of France. There is scarcely a sign of humiliation. Her state papers are noticeably wanting in even a single expression recognizing the hand of God. Thrown as she is in the darkness of an overwhelming national defeat, there is no confession of sin, no cry for mercy, none of that spirit which would avail with the God of nations to remove the heavy hand of judgment. In this state of national heart, what can be expected, but that God will let her

sink yet lower, and pour upon the people the vials of His wrath, until they recognize Him who is Ruler among the nations.

Above and beneath all the causes which have been assigned for the defeat of the French, it must not be forgotten that France among all nations, has gained an unenviable notoriety for frivolity and godlessness. It was on her soil that Rousseau, witty, licentious, scornful, eloquent, found audiences to listen to and applaud the exposition of his fundamental maxim in morals and religion, that "every system of society is an infraction of man's rights"—there, that Voltaire by his atheistic sneers and ribaldry broke down the moral feeling of all with whom he came in contact—in her society that Deism, which spread its contagion like poison, both in England and America, first took root, and showed its baleful results. It was there that the daring experiment was attempted of formally abolishing all religions, and in Paris, in the most ancient cathedral of Notre Dame, that reason was enthroned in the person of a harlot, and in mockery worshiped in the stead of the one living and true God. At a still later period, it was there that the Positive Philosophy had its rise and rapid progress, and found its most ardent advocates—a philosophy at this very hour, perverting the minds, weakening the moral restraints, and tainting the intellect of the educated young men of both continents. Over against all such wickedness it has been written for warning and admonition, "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." There is a divine vengeance and retribution ready to meet wicked nations, as well as bad men, and by a great law which knows no turning aside, in the train of folly, pleasure, luxury, and sin, come wretchedness, ruin and death. The public judgments of God are as inevitable as those which light so unerringly on individual violations of the divine law. The perpetuity of institutions and empire hangs on the favor of Him who has declared that in His sight the nations are only "as a drop of the bucket;" and they are effective workers in society, and the true friends of the nation, who, as distributors of God's word, or Colporteurs, or Sabbath-School teach-

ers, or preachers of righteousness, are communicating to the hearts of the people the elevating and liberalizing influences of the gospel of the Son of God, and who teach that all might of arms, commercial greatness, extension of empire, skill in diplomacy, or worldly success of the most dazzling kind, are not to be compared with the glory which crowns a people who render obedience to the will of God. "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

ARTICLE III.

THE THEOLOGICAL EXEGESIS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

*Translated From the German of Rev. Prof. J. T. Beck, by G. F. BEHRINGER, A. B., Tübingen, 1871.

The theological, *i. e.*, the believing, scientific exegesis of the Scriptures must develop the sense of the text, in part and as a whole, pneumatically or in the spirit of faith, with hermeneutical thoroughness and reproductive precision of thought.

The pneumatical element leads to the principle that is the soul of the entire work; the element of the hermeneutical and productive development of thought conducts to the method as the manner in which this principle proceeds.

A. FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

I. The exegesis must be determined pneumatically throughout. By the principle $\piνεῦμα$, we do not understand that which in ordinary language is called spirit, (Ger. *Geist*), so that the meaning of our fundamental rule would be: the exegesis must be conducted spiritually throughout. Under the management of this world-spiritual exegesis, the "laying out"

*Einleitung in das System der Christlichen Lehre, oder Propädeutische Entwicklung der Christlichen Lehrwissenschaft.—Ein Versuch von Dr. J. T. Beck, ord. Professor der Theologie in Tübingen. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Stuttgart, 1870. J. F. Steinkopf.

would become a "laying in." Thus every expositor would carry into the text his own natural disposition, his own views, or the ideas of the spirit of the times and of his own party, and then boast that he had spiritualized the same. This presupposes that holy writ is a dead letter, and must first receive its spirit from the expounder. But the word of God is the work of a Spirit who is life itself, and therefore the author of no dead production; but of a work, in which he dwells in a living manner, and in which he is continually present with his living activity, that extends beyond the word into the domain of the human spirit. *The inherent Spirit of the Bible is also its interpreter.* This must first spiritualize the expounders into its holy nature, before they can spiritually interpret the sacred sense of Scripture. And this process of holy spiritualizing occurs in faith. But this faith is begotten of those words of the holy Scriptures, which, not needing a special interpretation, clearly and decidedly bear witness in every sincere conscience as to what is the Spirit's meaning of all meanings, and the Spirit's commands of all commandments. He, who permits this substance, this nerve of the witness of the Holy Spirit, to enter within himself, and thus to be educated by it, now ascertains by his own experience, "*the Spirit giveth life.*" The same Spirit that lives and bears testimony in Scripture, also reigns in him as a living witness, and performs the duties essentially pertaining to the office appointed him by the Lord: "*He will guide you into all truth.*" It is therefore not a natural, party, or ecclesiastical spirit to which we refer the exegesis when we determine it pneumatically. It is the Holy Spirit of faith, without whom no expositor can understand the scriptural spirit of faith, just as no one can comprehend the spirit of a treatise upon art, without possessing an artistic spirit. In fact, whoever would truly understand any author, must occupy the same spiritual stand-point with him; so, too, the expounders of the Bible with the sacred penmen who wrote by the holy impulse and in the sacred sense of the Spirit. If, therefore, the spiritual stand-point from which they wrote be not that of the ordinary world, nor that of the natural or philosophical man,

but that of him regenerated by the Holy Spirit, then the stand-point of the expositor must be the same, if he desire to effect an understanding of the facts. But since man of himself can receive nothing, except it be given him from above, either as a natural disposition, or by a supplementary gift of grace, so he can only raise himself to that spirituality, which belongs to his nature, or which is bestowed upon him by a new-creative influence of God; this new creation, like the first or natural birth, is likewise effected by germination, by the spiritual sowing of the word. It is, therefore, entirely in accordance with the nature of the subject, that the natural man, however great may be his natural knowledge, can comprehend nothing of the Spirit of Scripture, because it is not the spirit of human nature, but the Spirit of God, exalted above all rational and irrational nature. And only in that measure in which the expounder possesses the Spirit, and permits himself to be guided by it, will he be able to unfold the *spiritual* meaning of the Scriptures, for thus we term it in order to distinguish it from its *human-intellectual* signification. Whenever and so far as he yields to the inclination of his own natural spirit, he will but touch the truth in passing by, and commit blunders. A purely natural expositor, however great he may be in erudition and in the science of criticism, however he may shine as a human intellectual celebrity, will be called small in the kingdom of heaven; for instead of filling the words of Holy Writ out of the fulness of their own spirit, he will resolve them by the presumptive sharpness and self-satisfaction of his own spirit into minutiae, and strain out gnats.

Hence the exegetical law of the Bible holds good, *that which is spiritual must also be judged spiritually* (1 Cor. 2). The natural man cannot comprehend the revelation of the Spirit, and will find foolishness therein; but the spiritual man comprehends all things in their order and connection, and with his purified eye explores ever deeper the wisdom of God, hidden from the eye of the world.

But it might now be asked whether, in order to understand
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the Scriptures, nothing further is necessary than that spiritual consecration referred to, whether scientific aids can be entirely dispensed with? We answer: he that is concerned only about the *spirit* of the Bible needs certainly nothing further; for the spiritual man does not lose the mental talents of his nature, on the contrary, he now possesses them brightened and sharpened. And this will suffice for a simple presentation of the holy Scriptures, derived from a fundamental aspect of the question, partly natural and partly spiritual, in order to discover in their words all the essential truths that lead to life and assist in a godly walk and conversation. Were it otherwise, Christianity would not be that universal plan of salvation, and could not boast to have freed its own disciples from the yoke of human tutelage and opinions. Moreover, Scripture has not only a spirit; it is a completed form of life, an organically and thoroughly constituted whole, which we can best illustrate by the analogy of the most complete organism, the human body; so, too, *Scripture has a body and a soul*.

1. This *body* is its human externality, its language and its history, formed out of the elements of the times and of the people into which the Scriptures enter. To this linguistic and historical externality the *grammatico-historical* exegesis refers; this for some time past has so far extended its limits so as to embrace everything; whereas, in accordance with its nature, it can only effect a grammatical and historical comprehension of Holy Writ. From this general province of language and of history, but a part is comprehended; and thus only in this human universality is the sense of Scripture obtained, *i. e.*, its *general sense*.

2. The *soul* of Scripture is its human internality, the peculiarly human tendency and formative activity which presents its thoughts and images, its feelings and dispositions, its impulses and works, in part and as a whole, in the externality of Scripture, in its language and history, in accordance with the psychological peculiarity of the human individuals (of the authors and acting personages) through whom the Bible makes itself known. To this human internality of the Scrip-

tures the *psychological exegesis* refers; this develops the human dispositions, thought and feelings, revealing themselves in language and history, *i. e.*, out of the inner sphere of life of the writers, out of their intuitions, conceptions, and observations; in short, which determines the sense, in its human particularity, from the internal condition of the individual, *i. e.*, its *special sense*.

This psychological comprehension, which seeks for human peculiarities in the various books and passages of the holy Scriptures, gives a decided physiognomic character, animated by a rich expression of soul, to that general physiognomic outline, into which the grammatico-historical exegesis leads the text. *De Wette correctly and strikingly remarks: "It deals with the consideration of peculiar and attractive physiognomies and characters that awaken human sympathy and interest (because they are the image of our own soul-life), and afford a productive abundance of characteristic, well determined and vigorous conceptions, opinions and feelings." Whilst, therefore, the grammatico-historical exegesis treats the sacred writers according to the laws of development of language and history, and from this expounds word and fact only in their most general connection as thought externalized, or outer life, the psychological exegesis determines the same in their individually inner life, as personal thought, according to the laws of human soul-life.

3. But with all this, the character of the sacred writers is not exhausted, as little as Scripture is thereby already expounded from its spiritual side. The sacred writers are not only rooted into the individual limitations of the inner life, they do not alone move upon the general historical foundation of the outer life, but a divine life enters as the controlling principle, and not only as an element, into their outer as well as their inner life. That exegesis, therefore, which treats them as mere representatives of human nature, externally and internally, tears them away from their life-principle, and comprehends word and fact, as well as thought and

*De Wette: *Erbauliche Erklärung der Psalmen*, p. 80.

meaning, only in a mutilated manner, in an isolated human nature, deprived of all connection with the divine principle controlling them. Such exegesis is, therefore, always purely anthropological, never truly theological. The theological exegesis must treat the sacred writers also as representatives of the divine life; it must rise from human externality to the *πνεῦμα*, to the spirit, as their controlling principle. From this it does not follow that the human element, their thinking and speaking, is alone active alongside of the divine, nor the divine alone alongside of the human; nor does it follow that both are simply commingled as different elements of one compound; but rather, that the divine is the principle which interweaves itself into the human factors, not as a mere associate factor or element, but as the life-principle forming and determining the human elements, purifying them to become organs for its divinity, and not itself rendered impure by uniting with them. *The human is divinely spiritualized, and not the divine humanly de-spiritualized.* So likewise the exegesis in its grammatico-historical and psychological investigations must not quench the Spirit which permeates the word of Scripture; it must pursue it, and search out how it, as the life-principle, really and divinely spiritualizes the external and internal nature of its thoughts, its grammatico-historical as well as its psychological character, in order to arrive at the *divine-spiritual* sense, to the full, *specific* Scripture sense, *i. e., the pneumatic exegesis.* It must not permit itself to be led astray by the statement that this divine-spiritual scripture sense can be immediately derived from the linguistic, historical, or psychological connection, from the words, facts and spirit of the authors, humanly considered. For the divine-spiritual sense of Holy Writ can not be born of the human, but of the Divine Spirit, from whom the divine-spiritual truth, which Scripture as revelation must contain, is derived. The spirit of revelation, in order to accomplish the object of its mission, deposits more in the words, facts and spirit of the sacred penmen than they naturally contain, but, at the same time, nothing that will ever contradict them; just as in regeneration it elevates the natural basis of human nature, and

fructifies it peculiarly, so that with an externality and internality essentially the same, it presents a new and higher life in the regenerated soul. In other words, the Divine Spirit, whom words, facts and authors serve in the holy Scriptures as living organs, (and not as dead material or instruments) endows them with a sense, that is not in conflict with the natural connection of word and fact, nor with the connection of thought of the writers; but this Spirit, proceeding from a higher connection, in which they stand as controlled by the divine life-principle, enters into them, and thus aims beyond that which lies in the purely human connection.

Yet, in order to comprehend passages of Scripture in their genuine connection, and thus to ascertain the divine-spiritual sense, two things are further necessary:

a. That this connection of thought, word, and fact, be already given; that we have a completed, divinely spiritualized language, history, and religion before us; and this we Christian exegetes possess. Before the fulfilment came with Christianity, the investigation of the divine-spiritual sense of Scripture was not wholly possible, only in part, and only in proportion to that which had been revealed of the entire divine connection. Therefore, it is said of the sacred writers, of the prophets themselves (so far as they prophesied of the grace that was to be bestowed upon us Christians, of the completing and completed connection of revelation), that the object of their own revelation was to present unto us, and not unto themselves, the perfect revelation, the entire divine connection of thought. But it does not follow, since the sacred writers in their *human* consciousness did not see the divine connection of their thoughts, that they could not have given such a connection, (for it is from the Divine Spirit and not from their human spirit, that we derive it); nor does it follow that we cannot comprehend their words in their divine connection, as if we were obliged to be satisfied with their purely human connection. For, not merely as the work of human authors do we, as Christian exegetes, regard and treat the Scriptures; but as the work of the Divine Spirit, who in

them has completed his revelation. In order, then, to regard and treat them as such, it is further necessary :

b. That this Divine Spirit shall have influenced us, not only in a universal human manner, in which he disciplines the whole world, nor in the Old Testament sense merely, so far as he enables us by means of promises to enjoy divine presentiments and hopes, but in the New Testament sense, in his formative personal activity, in which he spiritually regenerates us. None but the regenerated can discover and develop the divine connection of the holy Scriptures, in part and as a whole, and comprehend its specific sense, *i. e.*, the divine-spiritual or pneumatic sense. In this specific sense the general and special senses are for the first time fully comprehended. The latter do not remain in their isolated human form, nor are they left to the mercy of the spiritual trimming and distorting of the expounder ; but as a historical basis and as a human quickening of the divine-spiritual sense, they are appropriated and glorified by the same. The Scriptures do not however on this account present a manifold sense, nor an ambiguous sense, but a complete sense, since the general and the special unite with the specific in a living, harmonious individuality, to form a complete spiritual sense. The same Spirit that spiritualizes thought, word and fact for the expression of his revelation, also unites them into one sense, and makes of the Bible one context. To comprehend the general and the special in the unity of this Spirit, and to demonstrate this unity in each one particular, this is the work of the *scientific or hermeneutic-pneumatical exegesis*. It is not merely to ascertain what sense the transient consciousness of the people or of the times, or of the authors themselves, united with the words, but what sense the real author of written revelation deposited therein for the Christian consciousness. And this it is really to expound a passage in its connection, to interpret Scripture by Scripture, *viz.*, when the passage is logico-grammatically compared, not only with individually similar or neighboring passages, but with the entire context and with the spirit of the entire Bible. Hence,

although the scientific, exegetical expedients of hermeneutics proper cannot accomplish their purpose without the pneumatical exegesis, they, nevertheless, serve the latter, inasmuch as they alone can give us a knowledge of the spiritual sense of Scripture, in the universal human characteristics, and in its individually human activity; they alone can present us with the spirit of the Scriptures in the formative power of its corporality and in its expressive physiognomy, in its human incarnation. In short, only the pneumatic exegesis, united with the hermeneutic, can give us the complete sense in a connected consciousness, and can enable us to vindicate our spiritual comprehension of the same. Therefore they that would maturely discharge the duty of expounding the Scriptures, are called upon to use the scientific-pneumatical exegesis; and our second fundamental rule of interpretation is:

II. The pneumatic exegesis must admit the scientific or hermeneutic exegesis in its restricted sense.

III. The theological exegesis must interpret the text, in part and as a whole, with reproductive precision of thought. This it can only do, when, in accordance with the first fundamental rule it is determined pneumatically throughout, and in accordance with the second it has appropriated the laws of hermeneutics. For without these, it can neither comprehend the divine spirit of the holy Scriptures in its general and special human truth and activity, nor its human character in its divine truth and purity of life. Accordingly the work of theological exegesis consists more precisely in this, *that it faithfully develop the human character as well as the divine spirit of Scripture in their living, united expression of thought.*

1. This takes place when it develops the text in its linguistic and historic character in such a manner, that thereby the special biblical stand-point—and not merely the general usage of language and the general historical stand-point—is made the foundation; and this, too, not merely isolated in the spirit of a particular period of time, but in the spirit of the entire Bible. Neither the general usage of the Greek language, nor that of the Hellenistic dialect, nor the mere acceptance

of single Hebraisms and of literary peculiarities, will separately and alone suffice for the interpretation of a book of the New Testament; only in the totality of the Old and New Testament usage of language can it be completely expounded. And this will also apply to the historical connections of a New Testament text; it presupposes the living connection of the special, Old and New Testament development and consideration of history. Yet the various times and personages are not thereby deprived of their linguistic and historical peculiarities; on the contrary, these ought always and only to be comprehended in their spiritual connection with the whole.

2. The psychological development must not be a general one, so that the unfolding of the train of thought is determined in a purely anthropological manner; but the psychological characteristics must be comprehended in their living connection with the influence of the Divine Spirit, *i. e.*, theologically. And this influence of the Divine Spirit must not be taken in the general sense in which it is found among all mankind, but in the special biblical sense in which the divine activity of the Spirit (although determined by the peculiarities of the times and personages, which already contain the conditions that point to the completion of the Spirit's activity) is concluded in the entire process of development of biblical psychology. Hence the psychological development of a text must present its peculiarities in a living connection with the entire course of the psychological development of the Bible. Thus the apostle Paul's effusion of soul, (Rom. 9:3) can only be comprehended out of the totality of specific-biblical psychology. A mere anthropological psychology is amazed at the wish to be accursed for the brethren; and the thought which Paul desires to express, to be accursed for others, can only be completely analyzed, linguistically, historically and logically, out of the entire biblical context.

3. Therefore it follows that *the spiritual sense of the text* must be determined not merely by individual words and facts, nor by the nearest connection with and application of analagous passages detached from their context, least of all by subjective views and suppositions, or by theological and ecclesiastical

systems; but removed from every outward and distracting connection, *alone out of the spirit of the entire Bible*, out of its own system of doctrines, and especially by the thorough consideration of all the principal passages touching upon the same subject.

4. Although each of the individual books, passages, conceptions, &c., may have its special peculiarities, which distinguish it from others, yet all have something in common, whereby one refers to and partakes of the meaning of the others. And so intimately is everything joined in the holy Scriptures that the one always explains, determines more exactly, or extends more widely the other, until all unite to form one complete whole. Thus the usage of language in the case of one and the same word, which may occur in various passages of Scripture, has its own peculiarities; but it partly presupposes the usage of language in regard to other passages which have developed a definite meaning of the word, and partly refers to others for which it is preparing a new signification of the word, and to which it will deliver the same for further development; until in its progress through all the passages it gradually receives its full meaning. This also applies to the individual facts, thoughts, feelings and spiritual conceptions, that occur in various passages and at different times. The exegete must, therefore, follow all the essential elements of the text in their gradual and uninterrupted progress through the various passages of the Scriptures in which they occur, either to that degree which they assume in the text (if he would go no further), or to that in which the entire development is completed (if he would obtain a perfect conception of it). Therefore, in order to interpret the text reproductively in part and as a whole, *i. e.*, as it has developed itself in the entire connection of the Bible to its real meaning, the expounder must pursue the single factors determining the sense, as well as the sense as a whole, hermeneutic-pneumatically in their genetic development. And to this end he must consider all the analogous passages in their connection up to that degree of development exhib-

ited in the text, in order finally to unite the peculiarities of each passage in such a manner as to constitute a higher meaning common to them all. But if thus far this has not been gained, then the expounder must go farther; he must embrace the passages still further developing the text, until he finally obtains a complete conception, or a general, higher signification. Hence it is evident that for this genetic method a scholastic education, and a scientific ability of discerning and combining, are necessary; that the mere layman, though possessing the spiritual gift of interpretation, will hardly arrive at an insight into this organization of the Scripture sense. He may have obtained a general idea, but not a self-confirming and self-justifying insight. On the other hand, the purely scientific exegesis, without the spiritual gift of interpretation, cannot even arrive at the *idea* of the organization of the Scripture sense.

The theological interpretation has, at the same time, for its object the application of the exegetical results, systematically or pragmatically, to knowledge and life.

B. FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF APPLICATION.

I. The application must grow out of its text spiritually, as a living member of the entire organism of the Bible. This is the foundation of all other rules. The sense of the text must not be changed according to one's pleasure; it must not receive another physiognomy; it must be taken as it is, but not as it appears for itself in rigid isolation; it must draw its conclusions from a living connection with the entire Bible and the spirit of the same, and gather harvests for knowledge and life. The application must at all times have a biblical foundation, and this in proportion to its width and depth as contained in the text. Thereby are gained a rich abundance of application to life, and a spiritual fertility, which an application based upon one's own inclination and pleasure cannot secure. If we first fructify the text out of our own spiritual resources, then it can neither be nor yield to us more than we already are and have, and the application is as petty, warped, and one-sided as we ourselves are. *The text is divinely fructi-*

fied for knowledge and life out of the Spirit, who fathoms the depths of Divinity, who reveals the heart of man, and who writes the history of the world. Truths are thereby made manifest, which the spirit of man, not even able to comprehend itself, limited in its earthly existence to a few years, and confined in its operations to a small space, with the best of intentions can of itself never reach. The Bible, when its parts are comprehended in the whole, and the whole in its parts, is in fact that truthful symbol of real life, as we daily see it, that quickening prototype and exemplar of the new life to which we are called. It gives us both in one; the *actual truth*, the unvarnished presentation of human reality, by which to pierce through all the veils into the very heart of real life and to smite its conscience, and the *perfect truth*, by which to build us up in the new life. Hence the more life-like the application develops itself out of the entire biblical organism of its text, the purer and completer will be the treasures of life brought to light.

II. *The inferences drawn, in accordance with which we apply the text, must be correctly founded.* We arrive at these inferences when we deduce definite truths out of the contents of the text for knowledge and life. They are, therefore, founded partly upon the contents of the text, and partly upon our deductions; and their correctness will depend upon this: whether we have correctly understood and expounded the text, and then whether we have correctly drawn our conclusions. Hence, *the correctness of the interpretation and of the inferences determines the correctness of the application.* Mere accidental thoughts, even if true and useful, which Scripture passage may have incidentally awakened in us, or mere casual illustrations and explanations, do not belong to the application, because they are not connected with the text, either by interpretation or inference.

III. *The human side of the Bible, its historical and psychological elements, must be brought into a living connection with our own human nature, but at the same time viewed and appropriated in the Divine Spirit controlling both.* As a divine work of the Spirit, the Scriptures are so constituted that their contents

are written for our instruction, both as a race and as individuals. Its narratives are the prophetic outlines of our own course of life; the soul-experiences of its personages, are the reflected image of our own; its divine revelations, the symbol of that which God has done, still does, and will continue to do for us; its teachings, the spirit of history; its history, the teachings and discipline of the Spirit; its externality, the significant expression of its internality, and its internality the formative element of its externality. In all these relations the application may and ought to employ the Scriptures in order to reproduce in a living manner its *character* rich in doctrine and example, its *form* abounding with spiritual fulness. But the application can only secure for us its proper measure and real import in every connection, if guided by the temperate discipline and the keen eye of the same Holy Spirit, who manifests himself in Scripture as variedly as he does harmoniously; who, pliant and condescending, knows how to accommodate himself to the wants of the times and of men, and to build them up into his holy nature. Rules cannot compass him, and will not suffice to render him, who is the Spirit of the entire structure of Scripture, also the Spirit of its application; through whom alone it is led into all truth, and is enabled to comprehend and apply everything in a divine, as well as a human, manner. "This," says Gregory,* "is the greatest and most beautiful gift of God: to be the interpreter of the divine word for man, *i. e.*, to comprehend the divine as the word of God, and to impart it as instruction for mankind." For this purpose is necessary that anointment which teaches all things. But one rule, that of the Bible itself, can be given (1 Cor. 14: 1): "Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy," that ye may receive that divinely inspired gift of interpretation and application, which will preserve from all allegorical trifling and superficial subtlety. The divine life-blood of the Scriptures has everywhere its characteristic heart-beats for him who understands them; all others manipulate and grope about the entire no-

*Panegyricus ad Originem, p. 109, Bengel's edition.

ble form, and are as wise afterwards as before; or they will prophesy out of the fancies of their own spirit about the condition of the Bible and its attitude to life. The eye of the wise beholds *what there is*, but the brain of the vain invents hypotheses.

IV. *The application must resolve the general truth into its constituent special truths, and unite these with the complete and living truth; but if the latter be already given, it must analyze it into its general and special contents; in short, like the interpretation, it must proceed analytic-synthetically.* Thus every narrative presents its general and special truth; it receives its full signification, however, in a distinct doctrinal truth into which it enters, according to its divine spirit, as a part of the plan of revelation. Again, doctrines have as their general and special import the living presentation in narratives; as their completed import the presentation in the whole history, and especially in its crown, the history of our Lord. The more we thus apply Scripture analytic-synthetically, the more we shall find confirmed what an old church-historian says: "The Bible is a stream whose banks are so shallow that a lamb may safely stand in it and slake its thirst; whose centre is so deep that an elephant may swim therein; and whose deepest depths conceal a pearl of great price, which will fall to the lot of that skilled diver, who has learned to descend into the depths." In the shoals we gain what is of general import in history and doctrine; in the central current we meet with individual facts and doctrines; out of the depths, he, who can, will procure the one, complete import and use of all history and doctrine, *the pearl of great price.*

V. *The application must in all things conform to faith, i.e., it must serve its sole and yet manifold purpose: spiritual edification and improvement.* The entire purpose of the Scriptures is directed to doctrine, reproof, improvement and education, and to use them accordingly is the truly believing application, whereto spiritual knowledge and practice are called. "*Take heed unto thyself*" is the first commandment of faith for the scientific, practical and edifying application. He who has

not first within himself established and cultivated the living salvation of the Bible, cannot possibly do it in others. Therefore the believing application of Scripture employs the activities of the whole man, his reason and his conscience, his heart and his life, in order to operate upon others in a similar manner for edification. It demands a disposition that lives and moves in the improvement of itself and of others; to such a disposition spiritual treasures reveal themselves in those passages of Holy Writ, which to the captious critic, the vain braggadocio, and the frigid egoist, are sealed in a seven-fold manner. A method that aims simply at others, proceeds haughtily and wilfully; it is not concerned about the pure and complete truth, but rather about such a truth as is agreeable to its own inclination. The believing application of the Scriptures, beginning with self, strives for the discovery and possession of the full, improving, and disciplining truth, humbles itself before it, and then with it casts down the bulwarks of falsehood in others. The application that accords with faith is *baptized and enlightened by the Holy Spirit of truth*. It does not edify with pious fraud and dialectic skill, and is not satisfied with mere edifying taste and heartless contention. It demands improvement before God, in faith, which unites light, love, and life; which is spirit and truth, edification in and through the truth.

ARTICLE IV.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS, FROM CÆSAR TO TITUS, WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By GUS. SEYFFARTH, Ph. D., D. D., Danville, N. Y.

For many years it has been widely asserted, that the New Testament does not harmonize with the history of the Roman emperors, according to the chronology established by the Jesuit Petavius (*Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1627), and hence it cannot be the work of the Holy Spirit, and the gospel account must be regarded as a "*myth*." Such views, it is known, are advanced in the works of Strauss, Baur, Feuerbach, Renan, and the like. Instead of examining the suspicious basis of Petavius' chronology, a very deceptive apology of it has just now made its appearance in Rudelbach's *Zeitschrift für gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 224, which probably is not intended to banish Christian faith out of the world, but indirectly aids such efforts, and furnishes anti-Christian assailants with new weapons. As it is the duty of every Lutheran to oppose error, we feel obliged to submit, as briefly as possible, Petavius' theory to a new examination. In so doing we shall make use, principally, of the historical and astronomical materials for chronology which have been brought to light by Seyffarth's "*Chronologia Sacra; Untersuchungen über das Geburtsjahr des Herrn*, Leipzig, 1846;" particularly his "*Berichtigungen der alten Geschichte und Zeitrechnung*, Leipzig, 1855;" and his "*Summary of recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Ancient History, and Egyptian Archæology*, N. Y., 1857."

We shall, in the first place, view the difference between Petavius' chronology and that established by Seyffarth, and then decide, by means of historical and astronomical certainties, whether the latter or the former is the true one.

The following chronological table counts the years according to the astronomical method, to wit: the historians call the astronomical year 0, the first before Christ, because they erroneously place Christ's birth in the end of this very same year, 0. This practice, which is said to have been introduced by Beda Venerabilis, is obviously wrong. For Dionysius Exiguus (625 A. C.), the author of our method of computing time since the birth of Christ, calculated all Easter full-moons of the Christian era, and referred the first of them to the astronomical year 0. See Ideler *Chronologie* II., 373, 292. Consequently, Dionysius placed Christ's birth one year earlier, *i. e.*, seven days previous to the beginning of the said year 0. Moreover, from Dyonysius down to this day, the Christian Church mentions, in its Almanacs, the "*golden number*" of the year, which number refers to the lunar cycle of nineteen years of the Christian Church. As, then, this first lunar cycle of nineteen years began with the same year 0, and not with the following, it is evident, again, that Dionysius referred the beginning of our era to the first day of the year 0. The same is proved by the oldest Fathers of the Church referring Christ's birth to Dec. 25, previous to the year 0, and by our secular years. For, from Dionysius down to this day, the Christian Church has regarded the years 700, 800, 900, 1000, &c., not 701, 801, 901, &c., as the secular years of our era. All these arguments concur in demonstrating that Dionysius commenced the Christian era, as the Romans did with their *era urbis conditæ*, with the year 0. The true beginning of the Christian era, therefore, is that first day of January, from which to the beginning of A. D. 1871, 1871 entire years have elapsed, *viz.*, the astronomical year 0.

For these reasons we reject the wrong historical method of counting the years before Christ, and adopt, in the following table, the astronomical one, as earlier chronologers have done. The latter method, by the way, is quite convenient, and prevents mistakes so often committed, both by historians and astronomers. For instance, from the historical year 752 B. C. to 16 A. D., not 767, but 766 years only elapsed. The 57th year (historically counted) prior to A. D.,

16, was not 42, but 41 B. C. If we, however, follow the astronomical praxis, we obtain, always, by means of common arithmetical laws, the figures we want. All years A. D. are counted equally, both by historians and astronomers; but the latter reckon constantly, yet erroneously, one year more in the time prior to Christ's birth. Therefore the reader may bear in mind that the following table means astronomical years down to the beginning of the true Dionysian era. The names of the Consuls are abbreviated, and the star (*) specifies the years during which the Olympian games were celebrated.

| CONSULS. | EMPERORS. | Petav. | Seyff. | Urb.C. |
|---|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Romulus | 753 | 752 | 0 |
| Maximus and Tricostus (Kal. August.)..... | | 455 | 453 | 299 |
| Nus and Salinator (Id. Martius)..... | | 206 | 205 | 547* |
| Cicero and Antonius (15th of Oct.)..... | | 63 | 62 | 690 |
| Marcellus and L. Crus (Dec. 8th)..... | | 49 | 48 | 705 |
| J. Cæsar II. and Isauricus (Nov. 26th)..... | J. Cæsar I. | 48 | 47 | 706 |
| J. Cæsar VI. (Oct. 13th Annus Confus.)..... | V. | 45 | 44 | 710 |
| J. Cæsar VII. and Æm. Lepidus (Jan. 1st) | VI. | 43 | 41 | 711* |
| J. Cæsar ob. March 15th..... | Augustus I. | | | |
| Pansa and Hirtius..... | II. | 42 | 40 | 712 |
| Plancus and Lepidus..... | III. | 41 | 39 | 713 |
| Pietas and Isauricus..... | IV. | 40 | 38 | 714 |
| Calvinus and Pollio..... | V. | 39 | 37 | 715* |
| Censorinus and Calv. Sabinus..... | VI. | 38 | 36 | 716 |
| Pulcher and Flaccus..... | VII. | 37 | 35 | 717 |
| Agrippa and Gallus..... | VIII. | 36 | 34 | 718 |
| Poplicula and Nerva..... | IX. | 35 | 33 | 719* |
| Cornificius and Pompejus..... | X. | 34 | 32 | 720 |
| Libo and Antonius..... | XI. | 33 | 31 | 721 |
| Augustus and Tullus..... | XII. | 32 | 30 | 722 |
| Ahenobarbus and Sosius..... | XIII. | 31 | 29 | 723* |
| Augustus and Corvinus..... | XIV. | 30 | 28 | 724 |
| Augustus and Crassus..... | XV. | 29 | 27 | 725 |
| Augustus and Apulejus..... | XVI. | 28 | 26 | 726 |
| Augustus and Agrippa II..... | XVII. | 27 | 25 | 727* |
| Augustus and Agrippa III..... | XVIII. | 26 | 24 | 728 |
| Augustus and Taurus..... | XIX. | 25 | 23 | 729 |
| Augustus and Silanus..... | XX. | 24 | 22 | 730 |
| Augustus and Flaccus..... | XXI. | 23 | 21 | 731* |
| Augustus and Murena..... | XXII. | 22 | 20 | 732 |
| Marcellus and Aruntius..... | XXIII. | 21 | 19 | 733 |
| Lollius and Lepidus..... | XXIV. | 20 | 18 | 734 |
| Apulejus and Nerva..... | XXV. | 19 | 17 | 735* |
| Saturninus and Vespillo..... | XXVI. | 18 | 16 | 736 |
| Marcellus and Lentulus..... | XXVII. | 17 | 15 | 737 |
| Furnius and Silanus..... | XXVIII. | 16 | 14 | 738 |
| Ahenobarbus and Scipio..... | XXIX. | 15 | 13 | 739* |

| CONSULS. | EMPERORS. | Petav. | Seyff. | Urb.C. |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Libo and Piso..... | August. XXX. | 14 | 12 | 740 |
| Crassus and Augur..... | XXXI. | 13 | 11 | 741 |
| Nero and Varus..... | XXXII. | 12 | 10 | 742 |
| Messalla and Appianus..... | XXXIII. | 11 | 9 | 743* |
| Tubero and Maximus..... | XXXIV. | 10 | 8 | 744 |
| Antonius and Africanus..... | XXXV. | 9 | 7 | 745 |
| Germanicus and Capitolinus..... | XXXVI. | 8 | 6 | 746 |
| Censorinus and Gallus..... | XXXVII. | 7 | 5 | 747* |
| Nero and Piso..... | XXXVIII. | 6 | 4 | 748 |
| Balbus and Vitus..... | XXXIX. | 5 | 3 | 749 |
| Augustus and Sulla..... | XL. | 4 | 2 | 750 |
| Sabinus and Rufus..... | XLI. | 3 | 1 | 751* |
| Lentulus and Messalinus..... | XLII. | 2 | 0 | 752 |
| Augustus and Silvanus..... | XLIII. | 1 | 1 | 753 |
| Lentulus and Piso..... | XLIV. | 0 | 2 | 754 |
| Cesar and Paullus..... | XLV. | 1 | 3 | 755* |
| Vinicius and Varus..... | XLVI. | 2 | 4 | 756 |
| Lanio and Servilius..... | XLVII. | 3 | 5 | 757 |
| Catus and Saturninus..... | XLVIII. | 4 | 6 | 758 |
| Volesus and Magnus..... | XLIX. | 5 | 7 | 759* |
| Lepidus and Nepos..... | L. | 6 | 8 | 760 |
| Silanus and Creticus..... | LI. | 7 | 9 | 761 |
| Camillus and Quinotianus..... | LII. | 8 | 10 | 762 |
| Sabinus and Camerinus..... | LIII. | 9 | 11 | 763* |
| Dolabella and Silanus..... | LIV. | 10 | 12 | 764 |
| Lepidus and Taurus..... | LV. | 11 | 13 | 765 |
| Cesar and Capito..... | LVI. | 12 | 14 | 766 |
| Silius and Plancus..... | LVII. | 13 | 15 | 767* |
| Pompejus and Apulejus..... | LVIII. | 14 | 16 | 768 |
| Augustus ob. Aug. 19th..... | Tiberius I. | | | |
| Drusus and Flaccus..... | II. | 15 | 17 | 769 |
| Taurus and Libo..... | III. | 16 | 18 | 770 |
| Rufus and Flaccus..... | IV. | 17 | 19 | 771* |
| Tiberius and Germanicus..... | V. | 18 | 20 | 772 |
| Silanus and Flaccus..... | VI. | 19 | 21 | 773 |
| Messalla and Cotta..... | VII. | 20 | 22 | 774 |
| Tiberius and Drusus..... | VIII. | 21 | 23 | 775* |
| Galba and Agrippa..... | IX. | 22 | 24 | 776 |
| Pollio and Veter..... | X. | 23 | 25 | 777 |
| Cethejus and Varro..... | XI. | 24 | 26 | 778 |
| Isauricus and Agrippa..... | XII. | 25 | 27 | 779* |
| Getulicus and Sabinus..... | XIII. | 26 | 28 | 780 |
| Crassus and Piso..... | XIV. | 27 | 29 | 781 |
| Silanus and Nerva..... | XV. | 28 | 30 | 782 |
| R. Geminus and F. Geminus..... | XVI. | 29 | 31 | 783* |
| Quartinus and Longinus..... | XVII. | 30 | 32 | 784 |
| Tiberius and Sejanius..... | XVIII. | 31 | 33 | 785 |
| Ahenobarbus and Vitellius..... | XIX. | 32 | 34 | 786 |
| Galba and Felix..... | XX. | 33 | 35 | 787* |
| F. Persicus and Vitellius..... | XXI. | 34 | 36 | 788 |
| Gallus and Nonianus..... | XXII. | 35 | 37 | 789 |
| Plautus and Papinius..... | XXIII. | 36 | 38 | 790 |
| Proculus and Nigrinus..... | (XXIII.) | 37 | 39 | 791* |

| CONSULS. | EMPERORS. | Petav. | Seyff. | Urb.C. |
|--|--------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Tiberius ob. March 16th..... | Caligula I. | | | |
| Julianus and Asprenas..... | II. | 38 | 40 | 792 |
| Caligula II. and Caesia..... | III. | 39 | 41 | 793 |
| Caligula III., alone..... | IV. | 40 | 42 | 794 |
| Caligula IV. and Saturninus..... | (IV.) | 41 | 43 | 795* |
| Caligula ob. January 24th..... | Claudius I. | | | |
| Claudius II. and Largus..... | II. | 42 | 44 | 796 |
| Claudius III. and Vitellius..... | III. | 43 | 45 | 797 |
| Crispinus and Taurus..... | IV. | 44 | 46 | 798 |
| Quartinus and Corvinus..... | V. | 45 | 47 | 799* |
| (Coss. suff. Rufus and Silanus)..... | | 46 | | |
| Claudius IV. and Vitellius III..... | VI. | 47 | 48 | 800 |
| Vitellius and Vipsanius..... | VII. | 48 | 49 | 801 |
| Gallus and Verannius..... | VIII. | 49 | 50 | 802 |
| Vetus and Nervilianus..... | IX. | 50 | 51 | 803* |
| Claudius V. and Orfitus..... | X. | 51 | 52 | 804 |
| Faustus and Titianus..... | XI. | 52 | 53 | 805 |
| Torquatus and Antoninus..... | XII. | 53 | 54 | 806 |
| Marcellus and Aviola..... | XIII. | 54 | 55 | 807* |
| Claudius ob. Oct. 13th..... | Nero I. | | | |
| Nero and Vetus..... | II. | 55 | 56 | 808 |
| Saturninus and Scipio..... | III. | 56 | 57 | 809 |
| Nero II. and Piso..... | IV. | 57 | 58 | 810 |
| Nero III. and Messalla..... | V. | 58 | 59 | 811* |
| Vipstanus and Font. Capito..... | VI. | 59 | 60 | 812 |
| Nero IV. and Lentulus..... | VII. | 60 | 61 | 813 |
| Paetus and Turpilianus..... | VIII. | 61 | 62 | 814 |
| Celsus and Gallus..... | IX. | 62 | 63 | 815* |
| Regulus and Rufus..... | X. | 63 | 64 | 816 |
| Bassus and Frugi..... | XI. | 64 | 65 | 817 |
| Silanus and Atticus..... | XII. | 65 | 66 | 818 |
| Telesinus and Paulinus..... | XIII. | 66 | 67 | 819* |
| Capito and Rufus..... | XIV. | 67 | 68 | 820 |
| Tracholus and Italicus..... | (XIV.) | 68 | 69 | 821 |
| Nero ob. June 9th..... | Galba I. | | | |
| Galba and Rufinus..... | (I.) | 69 | 70 | 822 |
| Galba ob. January 15th..... | Otho I. | | | |
| Otho ob. April 16th..... | Vitellius I. | | | |
| Vitellius ob. Dec. 20th July 1st..... | Vespasian I. | | | |
| Vespasianus II. and Titus..... | II. | 70 | 71 | 823* |
| Vespasianus III. and Nerva..... | III. | 71 | 72 | 824 |
| Vespasianus IV. and Titus II..... | IV. | 72 | 73 | 825 |
| Domitianus and Messalinus..... | V. | 73 | 74 | 826 |
| Vespasianus V. and Titus III..... | VI. | 74 | 75 | 827* |
| Vespasianus VI. and Titus IV..... | VII. | 75 | 76 | 828 |
| Vespasianus VII. and Titus V..... | VIII. | 76 | 77 | 829 |
| Vespasianus VIII. and Titus VI..... | IX. | 77 | 78 | 830 |
| (Coss. suff. Verus and Priscus)..... | | 78 | | |
| Vespasianus IX. and Titus VII..... | (IX.) | 79 | 79 | 831* |
| Vespasianus ob. June 23d..... | Titus I. | | | |
| Titus VIII. and Domitianus VII..... | II. | 80 | 80 | 832 |
| Nonius and Verucosus..... | III. | 81 | 81 | 833 |
| Domitianus XVII. and Clemens..... | Domit. XIV. | 95 | 95 | 847* |

As, then, the reign of each emperor includes a number of consuls, the question is, how have we to proceed in order to fix incontrovertibly the epochs of all the aforesaid consulates?

First, it would be foolish to presume ancient authors, who mention the reigning-times of the emperors, their ages, birth-years and the like; to be infallible authorities. For these Greek and Roman historians do not agree with, but contradict, each other in numberless instances, either because they were misled by the mistakes of their predecessors, or made erroneous calculations, or else their works have been corrupted by subsequent copiers. Hence it came to pass, that among modern chronologers, who attempted historically to reconcile such contradictions, a continual war existed, since every critic took his own hypothesis for mathematical certainty.

A still greater absurdity is maintaining the chronology of the emperors from Caesar to Titus to be already fixed by the catalogues of consuls mentioned by later Roman and Greek historians. The *Fasti Capitolini*, it is true, deserve the greatest confidence, because they were taken from the *Annales Maximi*, agree throughout with Livy, and, being cut in stone, could not be altered. But they extend only to the time of Tiberius, and the question is still, with what year this series of consuls had begun to rule. As to the subsequent consular *Fasti*, however, they contain great incongruities. For, if we compare the list of the consuls of Idatius, upon which Petavius' *Doctrina Temporum* relies, with the chronographer of the year 354 A. D., *Chronicon Paschale*, Syncellus, Eusebius, Diador, Dio, Eutrop, Sueton, Tacitus, &c., we meet with consuls, omitted by some authors, or even transferred to other years. This phenomenon proves that certain chronographers after Tiberius mixed with the consules *Ordinarii*, consules *suffecti*, or *extraordinarii*, who, since they did not rule a whole year, were omitted by other authors. It is to be remembered that the emperors very often entered their consulates, but resigned a few days after for the benefit of their friends, then called *Coss. suffecti*, or *extraordinarii*. In such cases, coeval chronographers had a right

to mention not only *cons. ordinarii*, but also *cons. suffecti*. In short, as the lists of the consuls between Tiberius and Titus, delivered by ancient historians, differ, in several instances, from each other, we have to look for other helps, in order to establish a true chronology of the first Roman Emperors. The following are the most important ones :

1. *Roman inscriptions and imperial decrees*, because they mention, very often, both successive consulates and successive years of the emperors. They are to be found in Gruter's *Thesaurus*, and similar works. Of equal importance are the coins of the emperors, represented in Eckhel's *Doctrina Numorum*, and similar works.

2. *The Olympic games*. As these were regularly repeated every four years, a few days prior to the summer solstice, and as Livy and other historians mention many consulates during which the same games were celebrated, it is evident that such consuls must be referred to the very years of Olympic games. On the other hand, supposing Petavius' series of consulates contained, in any place, five consuls for one Olympiad of four years, it would be evident that one of these consuls must have been a *cos. suffectus*. As to the years of Olympic games, they are mathematically fixed. For the Olympic double-altars, erected at the beginning of the Olympic era, represent the planetary configuration observed at that time; and from this astronomical monument we learn that the Olympic games were celebrated, before Christ, in those years which, being divided by four, leave a remainder of one, but, after Christ, in such ones as give a remainder of three years, *e. g.*, A. D. 3. See Seyffarth's *Berichtigungen der alten Geschichte*, p. 230.

3. *Solar and lunar eclipses*. It is a well known fact that eclipses are not visible every year at the same places of the globe, and therefore a solar or lunar eclipse, observed in Italy or Greece, during a certain consulate, commonly determines the year of the consul. The most important eclipses, however, are total ones; further eclipses of the sun and the moon noticed within fifteen days, particularly those, the hour of which is attested by ancient observers; because eclipses of

such character can not return but after many years. As it is not everybody's faculty to calculate ecliptic new and full-moons, we owe great thanks to the astronomer Pingré for his calculations of all eclipses visible in the old world from 2000 B. C., to 1000 A. D. (*Histoire de l'Academ. des Inscr.* 1786, T. XLII. p. 78; and *Art de Verifier les dates* 1818, Vol. I. p. 243—400). These catalogues, then contain all eclipses mentioned by ancient historians, especially those of Greek and Roman authors. The latter eclipses, accompanied with the proper testimonies of the classics, have been calculated, according to new corrections of our Lunar Tables, in Seebode, Jahn, and Klotz *Archiv. f. Philol.* 1848, p. 586.; *e. g.*, on occasion of the total eclipse of the sun in 1851, it was shown that the longitude of the lunar nodes, upon which the magnitude of eclipses depends, must, on all ancient eclipses, have been a little shorter than stated in our tables of the moon. This mistake originated from Ptolemæus, the author of the first Lunar Tables, who, being destitute of very old observations, failed to determine the true secular motion of the lunar nodes. The oldest eclipse now known, being 700 years older than the oldest Chinese one, and 2000 years older than Ptolemæus' oldest eclipses, is that observed in Egypt, July 20th, 2780 B. C. This eclipse of the moon occurred on the first day of the first Canicular period of 1461 vague Egyptian years, and also on the first day of the first Apis-period, of 25 Egyptian years of 365 days. It was symbolized for all future times by the black Apis-bull, with a white crescent on its side. This Apis signified, as is known, the moon; its crescent was the part of the moon not covered by the shade of the earth in 2780 B. C., July 20th, and the black color of the Apis meant the then darkened part of the moon. Moreover, this Apis-period consisted of 25 Egyptian years, because a new moon returned on the same first day of the year (the 1st of Thoth), after periods of 25 Egyptian years; *i. e.*, Apis-periods. From this very old eclipse of the moon, and several total eclipses of the sun, observed in Greece and Italy, the aforesaid correction of the secular motion of the lunar nodes, and what is connected with it, was derived. A similar cor-

rection of our Lunar Tables was, many years since, proposed by the astronomer Voiron, in spite of Ptolemæus' eclipses. For this reason we shall below, in mentioning an eclipse, specify the corrected place of the lunar node, as often as necessary.

4. *Transits of Mercury across the disc of the Sun.* It was known to the ancients, at least since 2554 B. C., that as often as Mercury, in approaching the sun, appeared near the ecliptic, it must go over the disc of the sun. This remarkable phenomenon was signified by the myth of the birth of Phoenix, who, on Egyptian astronomical monuments, represents Mercury. This Phoenix is said to have, after certain intervals, burned himself up in the city of the sun (*πόλις ἥλιου*), that is to say, in the disc of the sun. The ancient authors mention many consulates and certain years of the emperors, in the course of which that phenomenon took place. A catalogue of the ancient reappearances of the Phoenix, accompanied with their computations, is to be found in the *Zeitschrift d. Deut. Morg. Gesell.* 1849, p. 93. As transits of Mercury across the disc of the sun return commonly after thirteen years, and never within two or three years; it is obvious that the years of consuls and emperors, during which a passage of Mercury happened, are mathematically fixed.

5. *Planetary configurations.* The ancients have, from time immemorial, been in the habit of making and recording astronomical observations on the seven planets, visible by the naked eye, particularly on occasion of remarkable events of history. In such cases, ancient astronomers stated with what Signs and smaller parts of the Zodiac each of the seven planets stood in conjunction. Such statements are the *Lectisternia* of the Romans, the *ἑπαὶ κλίνας* of the Greek, the Roman *Aræ*, referring to the birth-years of emperors. As no planetary configuration of this description can, within a period of 2146 years, return twice, all epochs of history, linked to planetary configurations, are incontrovertibly determined. The most important planetary configurations of old, explained and calculated, may be seen in Seyffarth's "*Berichtigungen der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig 1855, p. 26, 202."

6. *The lunar months of the Romans* did not begin with the

same days on which the moon joined the sun, but with the evening on which a crescent appeared after sunset; consequently twenty-four to forty-eight hours subsequent to the true new moon. In conformity to this rule the Greeks also commenced their lunar months, according to which they celebrated all festivals in the course of the ecclesiastical year.

7. *The solar calendar of the Greeks*, designated for civil and common life, consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, with five, and in leap-years, with six additional days. This tropic calendar was discovered by Holma (*Chronologie de Ptolémée*, p. 40) in an old manuscript which compares the Greek, namely, the Attic and Macedonian months, with the Julian year, as follows:

| Attic Months. | Macedonian Months. | Julian Calendar. |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Gamelion. | Apellæus. | 4th December. |
| Anthesterion. | Audynæus. | 3d January. |
| Elaphebolion. | Peritius. | 2d February. |
| Munythion. | Dystrus. | 4th March. |
| Thargelion. | Xanthicus. | 3d April. |
| Skirophorion. | Artemisius. | 3d May. |
| Hecatombæan. | Dæsius. | 2d June. |
| Metageittrion. | Panemus. | 2d July. |
| Boedromion. | Lous. | 1st August. |
| Pyanepsion. | Gorpiæus. | 31st August. |
| Maemakterion. | Hyperberetæus. | 30th September. |
| Poseideon. | Dius. | 30th October. |
| 5 (6) Epagomenoi. | 5 (6) Epagomenoi. | 29th November. |

This solar calendar is proved by numberless inscriptions and passages of ancient authors, to have been that of common life in Attica, Macedonia, and other countries. See Seyffarth's *Berichtigungen der Geschichte*, p. 20. Thus, *e. g.*, the classics report that 428 B. C. a new-moon occurred on the 13th day of Skirophorion (15th May). In 420 B. C. an eclipse of the sun was observed, on the 16th Anthesterion (18th Jan.), as Thuc. V. 2, Aristoph. *Nubes* 581, with the Scholiast, testify. As, then, Roman history very often mentions certain days of Macedonian months coinciding with

Saturdays, the solar calendar of the Greeks obviously belongs to the class of important aids of chronology.

8. *The solar calendar of the Hebrews.* Many passages of the Old and New Testaments, and especially of the older Rabbis, demonstrate that the Hebrews, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 71), used solar months, which Josephus constantly parallels with the solar months of the Macedonians. From this same authority, however, and from Philo, and Haggai, and St. Luke, we learn that the Hebrews had two distinct tropical years, an ecclesiastical and a civil one, the latter termed *Minjan shaturoth*. The former regulated the high feasts, the latter belonged to common life. Hence the Hebrews had two new-year's days, to be regarded Sabbaths; and this is evinced by St. Luke, 6: 1; for there he narrates that the disciples plucked the ears of corn on the *σαββάτιον δευτεροπρώτον* (the English translation: "On the second Sabbath after the first," is indistinct, and ought to be thus: On the second-first Sabbath, viz. of the year). As, then, the first ripe sheaves were offered in the temple on the 14th day of the first month, Nisan, according to the ecclesiastical year, *i. e.*, on the day immediately preceding the Passover, that *Sabbaton deuteroprotion* must have been a later first day of the first month Nisan, according to the civil year. This presumption is supported by Josephus, who does not only distinguish the ecclesiastical from the civil year, but says also that the ecclesiastical months began in the midst of the preceding civil month. For he makes a difference between simple dates and dates *κατὰ σελήνην*, of which the former obviously refer to the civil year, because he parallels them with the civil months of the Greeks. As often, however, as Josephus specifies days of the ecclesiastical year, he adds the words *κατὰ σελήνην*, *i. e.*, subsequent to the midst of the preceding civil month. For *σελήνη* signifies, very often, the full moon of the month, viz. the midst of the solar month. Accordingly, the ecclesiastical months of the Hebrews must have commenced fifteen days later than the civil ones did; while the civil months be-

gan on the 17th day of the synonymous ecclesiastical month. The same difference of both Hebrew years we infer from Haggai (2 : 1, 2), who states that the 24th of the sixth, coincided with the 11th (not 21st) day of the seventh month. Finally, the custom of the modern Jews, who hallow the 17th day of Nisan, of the ecclesiastical year, like a Sabbath, in accordance with the Pentateuch (Num. 29 : 1), demonstrates that the Sabbathon Deuteroproton was the 17th day of the ecclesiastical Nisan, the 1st Nisan of the civil year, that consequently the months of the ecclesiastical year, commenced, as Josephus witnesses, in the middle (*σελήνη*) of the civil months. Upon this ground-work and similar traditions of old is based the following scheme of both the ecclesiastical and civil solar-years of the Hebrews, after the Babylonish captivity.

| Ecclesiastical Year. | Civil Year. | Julian Year. |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Nisan | | 6th March. |
| 17th Nisan..... | Nisan | 22d March. |
| Ijar | 15th Nisan..... | 5th April. |
| | Ijar..... | 21st April. |
| Sivan..... | | 5th May. |
| | Sivan..... | 21st May. |
| Thammus..... | | 4th June. |
| | Thammus..... | 20th June. |
| Ab..... | | 4th July. |
| | Ab..... | 20th July. |
| Elul..... | | 3d August. |
| | Elul..... | 19th August. |
| Tishri | | 2d September. |
| | Tishri | 18th September. |
| Marcheshvan | | 2d October. |
| | Marcheshvan | 18th October. |
| Kislev..... | | 1st November. |
| | Kislev | 17th November. |
| Tebeth | | 1st December. |
| | Tebeth | 17th December. |
| Shebat..... | | 31st December. |
| | Shebat | 16th January. |

| Ecclesiastical Year. | Civil Year. | Julian Year. |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Adar | | 29th January. |
| | Adar..... | 14th February. |
| 5 (6) additional days..... | | 1st March. |
| | 5(6)additional days... | 17th March. |

But, it is asked, how can it be demonstrated that the Hebrew solar months of both classes corresponded with the joined days of the Julian year? So far as the ecclesiastical calendar is concerned, its correctness is ascertained by the only astronomical fact that Dionysius Areopagita, whilst travelling in Ethiopia, observed, on the 14th day of Nisan, A. D. 33, an eclipse of the sun, which occurred A. D. 33, March 19th. This eclipse, by the way, was invisible in Palestine. Further, St. Matthew 28 : 1, and the other evangelists, inform us that A. D. 33, the 17th day of the ecclesiastical Nisan was a Sunday, and the 22d March, of the same year, *i. e.*, Nisan 17th, was a Sunday. Besides, Josephus and the Maccabees report that some feasts coincided with Saturdays and Sundays, and the corresponding Julian days were, indeed, in the same years, the same days of the week. As to the Hebrew civil year, it corresponds, to the very day, with the year of the Arabians, the descendants of the Hebrews, (Ideler, *Chronol.* I. 437). The same months adopted by the Syrians, the neighbors of the Hebrews, began with the same Julian days, excepting a difference of twelve hours only. The same Hebrew months, in Ascalon and Gaza, contained thirty days each, with five additional days; but they commenced in Ascalon just thirty days, and in Gaza five days, later, because of an intercalated month, and a removal of the five intercalary days. As, then, Roman history mentions several Hebrew days, both ecclesiastical and civil, referring to Saturdays and other days of the week, and as coincidences of this kind return first after twenty-eight years, the solar calendars of the Hebrews rank with the most valuable materials for establishing a correct chronology of the Roman emperors.

The aforesaid auxiliaries, *viz.* the Roman inscriptions and

coins, the Olympian games, solar and lunar eclipses, transits of Mercury, planetary configurations, the solar calendars of the Greeks and Hebrews, will suffice for our purpose; and it would be superfluous to have recourse to other aids, *e. g.*, the Isthmia and Nemea, the sabbatical years of the Hebrews, the coins of many oriental cities, and the like. We proceed now to our object.

1. *The foundation of Rome*, the epoch on which the *Æra urbis conditæ*, and the *Fasti consulares*, and the whole chronology of the first emperors depend, was, by Petavius, referred to the spring of the year 753 B. C. This statement, however, is one of the most deplorable blunders of this unhappy Jesuit. For all Roman antiquity maintains that, in the spring, during the building of Rome, an eclipse of the sun occurred between six and seven o'clock in the morning, being observed also in Asia Minor. Such an eclipse took place only in 752 B. C., on the 25th of May, 16h. P. T.; it coincided, according to the abovementioned corrections of the actual Lunar Tables, with the said hours. As no eclipse of this description occurred in the preceding year during the spring, the epocha *urbis conditæ* is incontrovertibly fixed. Moreover, this result is mathematically confirmed by a planetary configuration referred to by Tarutius. Solinus (Polyh. I. 18) says in accordance with Plutarch: *Romulus fundamenta murorum jecit, XVIII. natus annos, XI. Kal. Majas hora post secundam ante tertiam plenam, sicut L. Tarutius prodidit, mathematicorum nobilissimus, Jove in Piscibus, Saturno, Venere, Mercurio in Scorpione, Sole in Tauro, Luna in Libra constitutis.* This planetary configuration did not occur in 753, but 752 B. C., April 26th. In recomputing these places of the planets, it is to be remembered that the ancients, as Finicus informs us, referred smaller planets occupying the same signs with greater ones, to the signs presided over by the same planetary god, who was the president of the Decuria occupied by the planet on the day of the observation. Therefore, we see here the moon placed in Libra, because it stood in a Decuria of Venus; and Libra was presided over by the

same planet. At that time, also, Mars, Venus, and Mercury occupied, together with Jupiter, the Decuria of Mars, wherefore the former three were referred to Scorpio, presided over by Mars, in order to indicate that Mars, Venus and Mercury stood in a Decuria of the planetary god Mars. As, then, the foundation of Rome comes down by one year, all following events of Roman history must also move down, of course, one year. This is, in the next place, demonstrated by,

2. *Cicero's Consulate.* The eye-witness says (*De Consul.* 5. II. 17): *Ferme dirum in tempus eecidere Latinæ, cum claram speciem concreto lumine Luna abdidit et subito stellanti nocte peremta est.* This total eclipse of the moon happened, as Cicero adds, whilst the "Mons Albanus was already covered with snow," consequently in the later autumn. Such an eclipse occurred only in 62 B. C., Oct. 27th 7h. 30' P. T., and not in the preceding year. The *Feriæ Latinæ* were performed in January of the Roman moon-year, which began, at that time, about two months prior to the Julian January. For, the last Roman moon-year, the so-called *annus confusionis* of four hundred and forty-five days, that is to say, of fifteen lunar months, commenced, in 43 B. C., with October 13th, consequently almost three months previous to the Julian January. Hence it follows that these *Feriæ Latinæ* took place in the month of October, and that Cicero entered his consulate on 15th October 62 B. C., viz. the new moon of the lunar month January. Petavius, however, having antedated the foundation of Rome by one year, must, of course, place Cicero's consulate out of 62 in 63 B. C. But, alas, in 63 B. C. no eclipse of the moon happened in autumn. What then? Petavius took recourse to the lunar eclipse in 63 B. C., May 2d, and prudently concealed Cicero's testimony that, at that time, the Mons Albanus was already covered with snow. In this way Petavius and his followers have misled the learned world these two hundred and fifty years.

We proceed now to a much more striking argument, namely,

3. *Caesar's passage over the Rubicon.* This passage, effected in January, was by Petavius, consistently with his theory,

assigned to the year 48 B. C. In so doing, however, he concealed again that, in the course of this very same January, a total eclipse of the sun, and a total eclipse of the moon were seen in Italy, as Lucan (*Phars.* I. 535), Petronius (*Sat.* c. 122 v. 124), and Dio Cassius (*XLII.* 14, p. 692) report. As, however, in 48 B. C., neither an eclipse of the sun, nor an ecliptic full-moon happened in January within fifteen days, and as this rare phenomenon occurred only in 47 B. C., it is evident also that the consuls of that year, viz., Marcellus and Lentulus, do not belong to the year 48, but 47 B. C. That total eclipse of the sun took place on January 3d, 21h. 30' P. T. (8° corr. 11° east), and that total eclipse of the moon on January 18th, 9h. 30' P. T. (9° corr. 3° west) in the year 47 B. C. only.

These four mathematical facts, the solar eclipse in the first year of Rome, the planetary configuration referring to the same year, 752 B. C., the ecliptic full-moon during Cicero's consulate 62 B. C., and the total eclipses of the sun and the moon, in 47 B. C., will suffice to convince every one that the foundation of Rome, and all consuls down to Caesar's passage over the Rubicon, are antedated by one year in Petavius' chronology. It would be tedious and superfluous to accumulate a hundred similar proofs, *e. g.*, the Lectisternium (planetary configuration) under the Tribuni Augurinus and Pompejus (*Liv.* V. 13), and the consuls Geminus and Flaminius (*Liv.* XXII. 10), the transit of Mercury under Brutus and Barbula, the conquest of the Hebrew Temple by Pompejus, during Cicero's consulate, on the 10th day of the month Tishri, a *Saturday*, and all the solar and lunar eclipses intervening between the years 772 and 47 B. C. All these mathematical arguments concur in demonstrating that all events of Roman history, down to Caesar's passage over the Rubicon in 47 B. C., have to move down by one year. We come now to the worst blunder of Petavius, concerning the year of Caesar's assassination.

4. *Caesar died*, according to Petavius, five years and three months after his passage over the Rubicon. And yet Josephus, Plutarch, Cassiodor, Eusebius, and others, assign him a reign of six years and three months. Supposing Petavius'

calculation to be correct, we would have to accept the absurdity, that during Cæsar's last year two *Magistri equitum*, viz., Lepidus and Antonius, ruled simultaneously. As, then, Cæsar did not in 48, but 47 B. C., march against Rome, and as he is declared to have ruled not five, but six years, the conclusion is that he must have died in 41 B. C., two years later than Petavius has made the learned world believe. This conclusion will be placed beyond any question by the following astronomical and historical certainties.

First, it is well known that the Julian Calendar was introduced three months and fifteen days prior to Cæsar's assassination, perpetrated on the 15th of March, consequently seven days after the winter solstice. The first Julian January commenced with a new moon, as Macrobius expressly says (*Sat. I. 14*), and this report is confirmed by the Julian coins, struck at the same time, and for that purpose. These coins, as may be seen in Eckhel's *Doctrina Numorum*, represent the crescent visible on the first day of the first Julian year. As, then, during a period of nineteen years, only one new-moon coincides with January 1st, and only in 51 B. C. a crescent was visible on the beginning of January, it is clear that the Julian Calendar was introduced, and that Cæsar died not in 43, but 41 B. C. According to Petavius and his followers, the Julian Calendar commenced in 43 B. C., twenty-two days prior to the new-moon, and, hence, Macrobius and the coins cannot be correct.

Further, the last lunar year of the Romans contained, as is known, four hundred and forty-five days, that is to say, fifteen lunar months; wherefore its first day must have been October 13th, being the four hundred and forty-fifth day prior to the 1st of January of the first Julian year. As, then, the Romans were in the habit of beginning their lunar months and years with new-moons, and as only in 43 B. C. a crescent appeared on October 13th, it is evident, again, that Cæsar died, not in 43, but 41 B. C., because of the last lunar year beginning with October 13th, 43 B. C. For only this year the conjunction of the moon with the sun happened on October 11th, about ten o'clock in the night, and, on October

13th, the new crescent was visible after sunset. Petavius' chronology, referring the same lunar year to 45 B. C., makes it appear that the Romans commenced their lunar months twenty-two days previous to the new-moons. Is not this marvelous!

Moreover, Ovid (*Met.* XV. 789) reports that about the day of Caesar's assassination a total eclipse of the moon occurred. Indeed this happened only one day previous to Caesar's death, viz., on March 13th, 41 B. C. As in 43 B. C. no lunar eclipse was possible about the 15th of March, Ovid, Petavius says, deserves no confidence, because he was a poet and an amateur of myths.

Furthermore, Plutarch, (*Cæs.* 63), Julius Obsequus (c. 127), Sueton (*Cæs.* 81), and Dio (*XLIV.* 17) relate that on the night preceding Caesar's assassination, on the 15th of March, Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, was awakened by the light of the full-moon. The latter happened on the 13th of March, as we have seen, in 41 B. C., consequently the still full-orbed moon rose, twenty-four hours later, about eight o'clock, and so it could, about midnight, awaken Calpurnia. In the year 43 B. C., to which Petavius points us, the moon rose about day-break, and, being crescent-shaped, could not awaken anybody at midnight. The whole story, Petavius means, was a childish tale repeated by the foolish historians Plutarch, Obsequus, Sueton and Dio.

Still further, the emperor Augustus says, (*Ancyran Marble* L. I) that, subsequent to Caesar's assassination, he himself was nineteen years old (*annos undeviginti natus*). As he was born during Cicero's consulate, while the latter delivered the fourth *Catilinaria*, and *Capricornus* rose heliacally, *i. e.*, in 61 B. C., during January; Augustus was nineteen years old in January 41 B. C. The birth-year of Augustus, 61 B. C., is mathematically confirmed by the *Ara Albani* representing the planetary configuration referring to Augustus' birth-day. The conclusion, therefore, is, that Caesar died, not in 43, but 41 B. C., and his reign lasted, not five years and three months, as Petavius and his adherents imagined, but six years and three months. It may be asked, did Augustus not know his own age, while celebrating his twentieth birth-day in 41 B. C.?

Finally, Cicero mentions, in several places, (Epps. ad Att. 15 : 5 and 29 ; 16 : 7) that the Olympian games were to take place a few months after Cæsar's assassination, viz., in June. The same games had been celebrated during the consular year of Nero and Salinator, as Livy (XXVII. 35, XVIII. 7) and Polybius (XI. 5) testify ; and even a Roman embassy had been sent to attend them. The chronological table, in the premises, shows that those consuls, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, Livy, and the true *Æra urbis conditæ*, ruled from the 15th of March, 205 B. C., to March 15th, 204 B. C. Consequently, the Olympian games, under consideration, were celebrated in the month of June, of the year 205 B. C., accordingly, in a year that, being divided by four, leaves the remainder one. The fine chronology of Petavius, on the contrary, teaches that these consuls reigned since the 15th of March, 206 B. C., and that, consequently, the Olympian game belonged to such years as, being divided by four, leave the remainder two. But, unfortunately, this stands in perfect opposition to the fact of the Olympian games being held in the year of Cæsar's death, *i. e.*, according to Petavius, in 43 B. C. It is a pity that Petavius and his learned advocates did not perceive this palpable absurdity, otherwise they would, probably, have ingeniously and sagaciously demonstrated that, in 43 B. C., the Olympian games were, for some reason, celebrated after a period of three years only.

Let us now inquire whether all other Olympian games, mentioned in Roman history, confirm Cæsar's death in 41 B. C., or not.

The first Olympian games were celebrated during the month of June, in the year 777 B. C., as the Olympian Altars, representing the planetary configuration, referring to the first Olympian year, incontrovertibly demonstrate. (See Seyffarth's *Berichtigungen der alten Geschichte*, etc., p. 230). This year 777, being divided by four, leaves the same remainder one, and thus confirms the epochs of the said consuls, in 205 B. C., and of Cæsar's death, in 41 B. C. Further, Plutarch (Ant. p. 942) relates that Antonius and Cleopatra as-

sisted at the Olympian games in the course of Ahenobarbus and Sosius' consulate, *i. e.*, in 29 B. C., a year of the same character. Again, Josephus (B. J. I. 21 : 8 ; Ant. XVI. 5 : 3) narrates that Herod, the first, participated in the Olympian games in the 25th year of his reign. This Herod obtained the crown of Palestine, under the consulate of Calvinus and Pollio (37 B. C.), and, after that time, he is said to have reigned thirty-seven years (Joseph., Ant. XVII. 8 : 1). The same king, by the help of Sosius, conquered Jerusalem under the coss. Pulcher and Flaccus (35 B. C.), viz., on the 10th of Hyperberetæus (Sept. 11th), a Saturday (Dio XLIX. 22), which is confirmed by the fact, that only in 35 B. C., the 11th day of September was a Saturday. After that year Herod reigned actually thirty-five years (Jos. Ant. XIV. 16 : 2 ; XV. 1 : 2) ; wherefore he must have died in the year 0, that is to say, in the first year subsequent to Christ's birth. These reports of Josephus, are mathematically placed beyond question. For Herod died a few weeks before Easter (20th of March), and nearly two months after an eclipse of the moon, as Josephus states (Ant. XVII. 6 : 4). That eclipse, being a total one, occurred in the year 0, the first of the Dionysian era, on the 9th day of January, 11h. 30', Ω 3° west, and this very same year was the thirty-fifth of Herod's actual reign. As, then, Herod visited the Olympian games in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, viz., during the year 9 B. C.; the same games occurred again in a year, giving the remainder one. Finally, Philostratus (V. A. VIII. 14—18) informs us that Apollonius was present at the Olympian games held under the consulate of Domitian XVII. and Fl. Clemens, *i. e.*, A. D. 95. Even Petavius refers the same consuls to the same year, 95 A. D., since his chronology is correct subsequent to Vespasian's death. As, then, the Olympian games were constantly repeated after quadriennial intervals, the simple logical deduction is, that the games took place as well in 95 A. D., as in the year 41 B. C., that, consequently, Cæsar must have died, not in 43, but two years later, in 41 B. C.

It would be easy to produce a hundred similar arguments, confirming the same result, but the seven mentioned, viz.,

that the Olympian games were celebrated three months after Cæsar's assassination; that the latter was preceded by a total eclipse of the moon; that Calpurnia was, during the previous night, awakened by the moon-light; that the emperor Augustus was, at the same time, nineteen years old; that Cæsar ruled six years and three months; that, subsequent to his passage over the Rubicon, a total eclipse of the sun, and a total one of the moon, occurred within fifteen days; that both the first Julian year, and the last lunar year of the Romans, commenced with new-moons; these seven undeniable facts, we say, will suffice to convince every man, not beyond the reach of evidence, of the truth that Petavius, and his deceived adherents, have antedated the foundation of Rome, and all subsequent events of Roman history, down to Cæsar, by one year, and Cæsar's death by even two entire years.

These results are, as it seems to us, not mere opinions, or unfounded suppositions, but truths, which no man on earth, is able to strike out of the book of history, or prove to be unworthy of confidence. What then? Since Cæsar's death moves down by two years, we should put forward also, all the following emperors and consuls by two years. But this, Roman history, beginning with Titus (A. D. 80) forbids, because, subsequent to Vespasian's death, all eclipses coincide with the years fixed by Petavius. Therefore, the only expedient is, to presume that Petavius inserted consules suffecti between Cæsar's death and Titus, and that he prolonged the reigns of the intervening emperors by two years. The question then is: Which are they? Had Petavius, or his adherents, taken the little trouble to examine Roman inscriptions, which are much more reliable than Idatius and similar chronographers of later times, they would have easily discovered those wrongly inserted consuls, and no *Doctrina Temporum*, as it is, which, concerning both Greek and Roman history, does not contain one truthful date, prior to Titus, would have entered the world, or, at least, it would not have caused so many serious errors, as it has done during these two hundred and fifty years. Let us now see some inscriptions.

In the first place we meet with an authentic decree, written

by the emperor Claudius (Josephus, Ant. XX. 1 : 2), viz.: *Κλαυδῖος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς δημαρχεῖς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον ὕπατος ἀποδείγμενος τὸ τέτρατον * * ἐγάφη προτεσσάρων καλανδῶν Γουλίου ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ρούφου καὶ Πομπηίου Σιλανου.* This document clearly demonstrates that Claudius, while administering his *fifth Tribunitia potestas*, was already *coss. design.* IV. As the first Trib. pot. of Claudius had begun with the death of Caligula, his predecessor, January 24th, his fifth Trib. pot. must have coincided with the fifth year of his reign, during the consulate of Quartinus and Corvinus. As, moreover, no consul was designated earlier than six months before his consulate, beginning with January 1st, and as the fifth Trib. pot. commenced twenty-four days subsequent to the beginning of the consulate, it is evident that Claudius must, of necessity, have entered upon his *fourth* consulate while he still administered his fifth Trib. pot. But what has Petavius done? He has introduced the *coss. suff.*, Rufus and Silanus, between Quartinus with Corvinus, and Claudius IV. with Vitellius III., and thus inserted a whole year between two consulates which, as our decree proves, were immediately successive. According to this, the Roman consuls must have been elected, not six months, but one year and six months, prior to their entering upon office, and the Tribunitiæ potestates of the emperors, did not continue one year only, but two entire years. To this, however, the objection may be raised, that it was not great Petavius, but little Josephus, who fell short, or that the nonsense is the fault of Josephus' copiers. Well then, we may produce three other inscriptions refuting Petavius. Gruter's Thesaurus (No. 39 and p. 238. Wolf ad Suet. Nos. 2 and 3) alleges three inscriptions, of the same demonstrative character, of which the *first* reads thus: "T. Claudius, Drusi f., Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Pont. Max., Trib. pot. V. Imp. XI. P. p., Cos. des. IIII. etc.; the *second* one: Claudius Cæs. Aug. Germ., Pont. Max., Trib. pot. V., Imp. X., P. p., Cos. des. IIII., etc.; the *third*: T. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germ., P. M., Trib. pot. V., Imp. XI., P. p., Cos. IIII., etc. The former two monuments show that Claudius, in the course of his fifth Trib. pot., was

Cos. des. IV., and that, consequently, he must, six months after, have entered upon his fourth consulate. The last inscription clearly proves that Claudius, in the same year, during his fifth Trib. pot., was both Cos. desig. IV. and Consul IV. de facto, that, consequently, no consuls ordinarii, with a period of a whole year, intervened between the coss. Quartinus with Corvinus and the coss. Claudius IV. with Vitellius III.; that, finally, Rufus and Silanus must have been consules extraordinarii, *i. e.*, suffecti. The inference is, therefore, that Claudius did not reign thirteen years, eight months, nineteen days, as Petavius erroneously holds, but twelve years, eight months, nineteen days only; and this result is confirmed by Numismatics. For, no coin exists referring to the imaginary thirteenth year of Claudius, and no inscription, mentioning this thirteenth year, although extending to nearly nine months, can be produced.

Secondly, There are two inscriptions in existence (Gruter's Thesaurus, p. 270, 2. 243. Eckhel D. N. VI., p. 34), which demonstrate that Vespasian also reigned one year less than Petavius has led the Christian world to believe. *The first* reads thus: Imp. Cæsari Vespasiano Aug., Pontifici maximo, Trib. pot. VIII., Imperat. XVII., P. p., Cos. VIII., des. IX., Censori, etc.; *the second*: Vespasiano * * Pontifici Maximo * * Trib. pot. * * Imper. XVII., Cos. VIII., design. VIII., Conservatori, etc. Both inscriptions, then, witness that Vespasian, being Cos. VIII., was designated for his ninth consulate; consequently, since no consul was designated for a consulate earlier than six months before January 1st, Vespasian must have administered two consecutive consulates, viz., his 8th and 9th. Nevertheless, our eminent chronologist inserts, between these consulates, the consuls Commodus and Priscus, with a whole year, and, in so doing has antedated, by one year, all the preceding consuls and emperors. Had the learned Petavius first examined Roman inscriptions, he would have easily perceived that Commodus and Priscus belonged to the class of consules suffecti. Our inscriptions prove, at the same time, that Vespasian must have reigned one year less, not ten years, minus seven days,

but nine years, minus seven days, as even Eutropius relates, and the coins testify. Although that imaginary tenth year of Vespasian comprehended almost twelve entire months, no coin or inscription exists furnishing evidence of Vespasian's assumed tenth year's reign.

These, then, are the two consuls and years, erroneously inserted between Cæsar's death and Titus, viz., Rufus and Silanus, who ruled simultaneously with Quartinus and Corvinus, in 47 A. C., and Verus with Priscus, whose consulates coincided with those of the *cons. ordinarii*, Vespasianus VIII. and Titus VI. A. D. 78.

The only question, now, remaining to be discussed, is, whether this chronology, based upon inscriptions, is confirmed or refuted by astronomical facts. For, as the classics do not agree with each other concerning either the list of the consuls, or the reigns of the emperors, their ages, birth-years, and the like, we must again recur to established and reliable certainties.

In the first place, it is self-evident that, since Cæsar did not die in 43, but 41, B. C., all the following emperors and consuls, down to the intruded Rufus and Silanus, A. D. 47, must also come down by two years. This the following eight mathematical facts will place beyond question.

1. The Romans witnessed a nearly total eclipse of the sun, under the consuls Lepidus and Plancus, *i. e.*, 40 B. C. (Dio Cass. XLVII., c. 40, p. 519, Reim.: *ὁ ἥλιος ἐλάχιστος ἐγένετο*). Such an eclipse occurred only in the year 40 B. C., July 30th, 18h. 15' P. T. (3° cor. 2° east). In 42 B. C., to which Petavius referred the said consuls, no solar eclipse at all, as P'ingré shows, occurred.

2. During the consulate of Volesus and Magnus, and the forty-eighth year of Augustus, viz., A. D. 7, the Romans observed a small eclipse of the sun (Dio Cass. LV. 22, p. 390: *τοῦ ἡλίου τι ἐκλιπὲς*), namely, February 5th, 23h., P. T. (3° 12° east). But, during the year 5 A. D., to which Petavius refers these consuls, as appears from the corrected longitude of the lunar nodes, no eclipse of the sun was visible in Rome.

3. About the day, on which Augustus died (19th August).

an eclipse of the sun took place, as Dio (LVI. 29, p. 472), Eusebius (*Chron.* int. Hieron., p. 157; Armen., p. 368), and others, tell us. Indeed, A. D. 16, August 20th, 16h. P. T., a solar eclipse occurred; but A. D. 14, in which Petavius places Augustus' death, no eclipse was possible.

4. A remarkable eclipse of the moon occurred, visible near Laybach, in Tyrol, at least five months subsequent to Augustus' death, which was, according to Tacitus' circumstantial description (*An. I.* 28), the evening eclipse of A. D. 17, January 30th, 8h. P. T., \oslash 5° east, and by no means that of A. D. 14, Sept. 26th, 17h. P. T., which took place in the morning-twilight.

5. Sueton (*Claud.* 2) and Dio Cass. (*LIV.* 32) represent that Claudius was born within the consulate of Antonius and Africanus, *i. e.*, as Petavius imagined, 9 B. C. The nativity of Claudius, however, represented on two imperial Aræ, places these consuls two years later, in 7 B. C. (See Seyffarth, *Berichtigungen*, pp. 243, 246.)

6. The emperor Caligula was born under the consuls Germanicus Cæsar and Capito (*Suet. Cal.* 8), who ruled, according to Petavius, A. D. 12. The Ara Capitolina, representing Caligula's nativity, on the contrary, puts the same consuls two years later. (Seyffarth, *Berichtigungen*, p. 224.)

7. Phlegon, cited by Malala (*Chron.* 10), Eusebius (*Chron. I.* p. 77; *II.* p. 202) Syncellus (p. 256 Ven.), Paulus Diaconus (p. 253 Bas.), assure us that, at two P. M., in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, who ruled in Rome since Augustus' departure, on the 19th of August, A. D. 16, consequently during the year 33 A. D., a total eclipse of the sun was observed at Nicæa, in Bithynia. This total eclipse occurred only A. D. 33, September 1st, in the morning at 11h. 30' P. T. (\oslash cor. 5° east). As in A. D. 31, to which Petavius referred the eighteenth year of Tiberius, no total eclipse of the sun was possible in Bithynia, we obtain another irrefutable argument demonstrating that Petavius' infallibility has antedated all emperors, and all consuls, from J. Cæsar to Claudius, by two years. Some authors, it is true, refer Phlegon's eclipse to the nineteenth year of Tiberius, Ol. 202, 4; but we have to re-

member that the nations in the Orient commenced, as the Egyptians did, the years of the Roman emperors with the previous new-years day of the country. Add to this, that during the third year of Tiberius and the consulate of Rufus and Flaccus, Ol. 199, 1, Tiberius' Quadriga took part in the Olympian games (Cramer Anect. p. 151; Euseb. Chron. Armen. I. 159), *i. e.*, A. D. 19. Consequently Tiberius and Augustus must have ruled two years later than Petavius taught.

8. Aurelius Victor (IV. 12) tells us that, in the year U. C. 800, in the sixth year of Claudius, the jubilee of Rome was celebrated, that a transit of Mercury took place, and that, in the same year, a lunar eclipse occurred while the island of Thera emerged. "Cujus Claudii anno sexto, Victor says, quum quatuordecim regnaret, DCCC. urbis, mize celebratus visusque apud Ægyptum Phœnix, quem volucrum ferunt anno D. ex Arabis memoratos locos advolare, atque in Æges mari repente insula ingens emersit nocte, qua defectus lunæ occiderat. As transits of Mercury return commonly after thirteen, seldom after six or seven, years, and as Mercury is reported to have passed over the solar disc in the sixth year of Claudius, and as this phenomenon took place A. D. 48, April 16th, 6h.; the reign of Claudius is, apart from all other proofs, mathematically fixed. The sixth year of Claudius was not A. D. 46, as Petavius mistook, but 48 A. D., and, therefore, Augustus must have died A. D. 16, and not two years earlier.

Further, in the same year, U. C. 800, as Victor says, the jubilee of Rome was celebrated. Since Rome was founded about the vernal equinox, in the year 752 B. C., as we have seen, the year 800 U. C. coincided with A. D. 48, and not with 46; and as this solemnity took place in the sixth year of Claudius, which commenced on January 24th, it is again evident that Claudius, and all his predecessors, must have reigned two years later than Petavius and his adherents suppose. Moreover, the ancient Romans counted the years *urbis conditæ* quite in the same way as the contemporaries of Claudius did. For, Censorinus (de d. n. 17) recounts that,

the jubilee *urbis conditæ* 300, was celebrated during the consulate of Maximus and Tricostus, who ruled in 453 B. C., after the month of August, (see the Chronological Table in the premises). As, then, Rome was founded in 752 B. C., a period of three hundred years had truly ended in 452 B. C. Again, from the year 452 B. C., to the sixth year of Claudius, viz., 48 A. D., an other period of five hundred years had elapsed. Consequently, the jubilee *urbis conditæ* 800, belonged to the year 48 A. D., and, as this very same year was the sixth of Claudius, it is obvious again that Claudius, with all his predecessors, must have reigned two years later than is at present taught in thousands of books.

Further, the same sixth year of Claudius is confirmed by the lunar eclipse observed under the same consuls, Claudius IV. and Vitellius III. For, A. D. 48, June 14th, 6h. P. T., Ω cor. 9° west, an eclipse of the moon took place. Even Dio (LX. 29) puts this eclipse and the origin of the island Thera in the consulate of Claudius IV. with Villius III., *i. e.*, in the year 48, and not in 46 A. D. It is strange, however, that Dio gives Claudius a reign, in round numbers, of fourteen years, for other authors assign him only twelve years, eight months and nineteen days. The question is, however, whether the editors of Dio have not been influenced by Petavius, or whether Dio himself erred in consequence of already corrupted *Fasti consulares*.

It is to be mentioned, also, that Seneca (Q. n. II. 26), Eusebius (Chron. II. 204) and Cassidorus place the emersion of Thera, and the lunar eclipse of the same date, in the fifth year of Claudius, consequently, in 47 A. D. In this year, it is true, a total eclipse of the moon took place, June 26th 3h. 30' P. T., but it was visible only in Asia. It is, therefore, probable that these authors confounded the fifth and sixth year of Claudius.

Finally, Dio Cassius (LX. 29, p. 776) narrates that the eclipse of the sun, which occurred on the birth-day of Claudius, August 1st, belonged to the fifth year of Claudius, and to the consulate of Quartinus and Corvinus, *i. e.*, to the year

47 A. D. This statement, however, is wrong. For the eclipse in question took place, not A. D. 47, but 45, July 31st, 22h. 25' (\odot 3° west). By the way, the obscuration of the sun did not amount to three, but to nine inches, according to the aforementioned correction of our Tables. Moreover, it would be absurd to maintain that this eclipse alone proves the correctness of Petavius' chronology, referring the fifth year of Claudius to A. D. 45. For it was an easy matter either for Dio, or his predecessors, or his copiers, to read or to write *E* (5) for *I* (3), or to confound the consuls in the year 45 with those in 47 A. D., since the catalogues of the consuls, of that period, do not agree with each other; some authors insert the *coss. suffecti* A. D. 47 and 79, others omit them. The eclipse under consideration, severed from the mass of other chronological material, proves nothing in favor of a wrong chronology. Irrefutable proofs and arguments, opposed to Petavius, are, on the contrary, the coins, the authentic documents and inscriptions, the Olympian games and Jubilees *urbis conditæ*, transits of Mercury, new moons, planetary configurations, the solar calendars of the Greeks and Hebrews, and a great many reliable eclipses mentioned in the premises. In short, there are twenty-one arguments, with many others omitted, in order to shorten our discussion, which concur to demonstrate that, from Cæsar's death, in 41 B. C., down to the fifth year of Claudius, all consuls and all emperors reigned two years later than Petavius has represented, and his followers believe.

We proceed now to the second series of the consuls and emperors, those intervening between Claudius and Titus. As Claudius reigned, not thirteen, but twelve, entire years only, and Rufus and Silanus were, in A. D. 46, consuls *extraordinarii*, it is necessary that the following consuls and emperors move down by one year only. Let us see what arguments prove this position.

1. It is a fact, as we have seen, that the Olympian games were celebrated in 41 B. C., three months after Cæsar's assassination, and also in 205 B. C., during the consulate of Nero and Salinator; again, in 29 B. C., under Ahenobarbus and

Socius; further, in 9 B. C., the twenty-fifth year of Herod. As the same games were repeated after quadriennial intervals, they must have taken place in all years after Christ, which, being divided by four, give a remainder three. And this the games, repeated A. D. 19, in the 3rd of Tiberius, in 59 A. D. (Philost. V. A. IV. 24; 17; 18; 34), and, in 95 A. D. (Philost. V. A. VIII. 14—18) confirm. Consequently, the year A. D. 67, must have been an epoch of Olympian games. Indeed, many ancient authors witness that, in this very same year, during the consulate of Telesinus and Paulinus, Nero went over to Greece for the purpose of assisting at the games, but that he gave orders to defer them to the following year, viz., A. D. 68. See Philost. V. A. IV. 24; 24; 18; 34. Sueton, Nero 19, 23; Vespas. 4. Josephus B. J. II. 20, 1. Pausan. X. 36, 4. Dio Cass. LXIII. 8, 14. Euseb. Chron. ad Ol. 211, 1. Euseb. Armen. p. 160. Cramer Anect. II. 151. Philostratus (V. A. VIII. 14) says expressly that, seven years prior to Nero's departure from Rome, A. D. 67, the Olympian games were celebrated. Hence it is easily understood that Petavius has antedated Nero by one year only, and that the cons. Telesinus, with Paulinus, do not belong to the year 66, but 67 A. D., *i. e.*, the 108th year after Cæsar's assassination. The incontrovertible conclusion, therefore, is, that all consuls and all emperors, from Claudius to Titus, have to move down by one year only. Notwithstanding this, Petavius, on the contrary, imagining all Olympian games to have been celebrated two years earlier, (accordingly the above mentioned in 65 A. D.,) and the consuls Telesinus with Paulinus to have ruled in 66 A. C., arrived at the conclusion that Nero deferred the Olympian games by *two years*, and that *πέρῳσι* (the preceding year) must originally and really have signified, not the preceding year, but *two years*, before. This is marvelous in the extreme. And yet, the adherents of Petavius have not hesitated to repeat the blunder.

2. The fact that Telesinus and Paulinus ruled in 67, and not in 66 A. D., is mathematically proved by a total eclipse of the sun. For Philostratus (V. A. IV. 43, p. 183 Ol.) testifies that Apollonius, during the same consulate of Telesinus

and Paulinus, happened to see a total obscuration of the sun in Greece. Such an eclipse did not occur A. D. 66, but in 67 A. D., May 31st, 3h. P. T., Ω 5° west.

3. Here it comes to light, unexpectedly indeed, that the Pope has celebrated the martyr-death of St. Peter and St. Paul in a wrong year; that event ought to have been observed, not in 1867, but in 1868, June 29th. For, the Father of Church History, Eusebius, witnesses that both apostles were put to death during Nero's thirteenth year, extending from October 13th, A. D. 67, to October 13, A. D. 68. As, then, both apostle suffered martyrdom June 29th, they must have been put to death A. D. 68. Hieronymus, it is true, twice refers the same martyrdom to the 14th year of Nero, and not, as Eusebius does, to the year 2083, but to 2084, after Abraham, yet the statements of Eusebius and Hieronymus do not contradict each other. For, Hieronymus counts, in all instances, one year more than Eusebius does, because, as is known, he commenced the years with the preceding January, according to Roman use. Consequently, even Hieronymus places the said event in 68 A. C. Idatius (380—389 A. D.) assigns the same occurrence to the consulate of Galerius and Silius (69 A. D.) This author, however, depended, as we have seen, upon *Fasti consulares* which took the *cons. extraordinarii*, Verus and Priscus (79 A. C.), for *cons. ordinarii*, and, therefore, Idatius' intention was also to refer the death of the apostles to the thirteenth year of Nero. The report of Clemens Romanus, who lived in Rome at that time, is, however, the most decisive; for this Father of the Church informs us (*Ad Cor.* I. 5) that St. Peter and St. Paul were put to death in that year, during which Nero participated in the Olympian games, that is to say, in A. D. 68. The explicit testimony of the *Martyrologium Pauli* (396 A. D.) places that date out of question. For, it reports that the apostle suffered death, III. Kal. Jul. (June 29th) "*in the 69th year after the birth of Christ.*" Christ, as we have seen, was born seven days previous to the year 0, which was the first of the Christian era; consequently, the apostles were put to death A. D. 68, this year being "*the 69th after Christ's birth.*" The same Mar-

tyrologium adds, that the martyrdom occurred "*in the 36th year after the crucifixion of the Lord,*" which, as we have seen, took place A. D. 33, March 19th; consequently the apostles were put to death A. D. 68, *i. e.*, in the 36th year subsequent to the crucifixion. According to Hieronymus, both apostles were martyred "*in the 37th year after the crucifixion ;*" as he, however, beginning the years of his chronology nine months earlier, counts commonly, as is known, one year more, Hieronymus corresponds exactly with Eusebius, Idatius, Clemens Romanus, and the Martyrologium Pauli. Accordingly, St. Peter's martyrdom ought to have been commemorated in 1868, and not in 1867. It is worthy of note, what strange fruits have been produced by the chronology of the Jesuit Petavius, and how this very papist annihilates the infallibility of the Pope, by leading him into such error. The infallibility of the Pope has not been proof against Petavius' blunders.

4. Again, the conclusion that all consuls and emperors, from Claudius to Titus, ruled later, by one year, than Petavius has brought out, will be confirmed by the following argument. Plinius (H. N. II. 70—72) narrates, as an eye-witness, that, in the course of the consulate of Vipstanus and Fonteius, a great eclipse of the sun took place, viz., between seven and eight o'clock, in Campania, but, in Armenia, between ten and eleven A. M. "*Solis defectum,*" says he, "*Vejestano Fonteio coss., qui fuere ante paucos annos, factum pridie Kal. Majas* (MS. Martian. : XI. Kal. Majas. MS. Tol. Reg. 2: II. Kal. Maj.) *Campania hora diei inter VII. et VIII. sensit, Corbulo in Armenia inter horam X. et XI. prodidit visum.*" Tacitus (Ann. XIV. 12) says: "*sol repente obscuratus, et tactæ de cælo quatuordecim urbis regiones.* Dio Cassius (LXI. 16, p. 36) reports this eclipse to have been a total one (*συμπας ἐξέλειπεν, ὥστε ἀστέρας ἐκφῆναι*). Hieronymus (p. 161) refers this eclipse to Ol. 209, 2, *i. e.*, either to the autumn 60, or the spring 61, A. D.; Eusebius to Ol. 209, 3. As the latter, however, commences the Olympiads nine months earlier, this eclipse belonged to the autumn A. D. 60. Petavius, on the contrary, while he antedated the consuls Vipstanus and Fon-

tejus by one year, had recourse to the eclipse in 59 A. D., April 30th, 1h. P. T. $8^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ west, which was total neither in Armenia nor in Campania, and scarcely visible in the latter country. Besides, the account of this eclipse is contradicted by Hieronymus and Eusebius, and by Pliny himself, who counts the hours of the day, like the Romans, from midnight. The obviously corrupted text of Pliny and its adjustment according to Petavius, prove, of course, nothing. In short, there is, about that time, but one eclipse agreeing with Pliny, Eusebius, Hieronymus and Dio, to wit, that in 60 A. D., October 3rd, at seven o'clock A. M., $8^{\circ} 9^{\circ}$ west, which was visible, in Campania and Armenia, about the said hours. Consequently, the consuls Vipstanus and Capito belong to the year 60, and not to 59 A. D.

5. During the consulate of Vespasianus II. and Titus, as Pliny (H. N. II. 13—10), being an eye-witness, testifies that the rare phenomenon was seen in Rome—a total eclipse of the sun and the moon within fifteen days—(ut quindecim diebus utrumque sidus quæreretur, et nostro æro accidet, imperatoribus *Vespasianis patre et filio consulibus*). These genuine words of Pliny mean, that those eclipses occurred while Vespasianus exercised the consulate together with his son Titus *for the first time*, that is, according to Petavius, A. D. 70. But during that year, as Pingré shows, no eclipses within fifteen days, were to be seen in Italy. What then? Petavius understood the art of devising expedients. He impeached the eye-witness, Pliny, of a gross blunder, and asserted, for the purpose of obtaining the year 71 A. D., that Pliny ought to have written: “Vespasiano III. filio iterum consulibus.” Indeed, our philologers, convinced of Petavius’ infallibility, have been so kind as to transform Pliny’s genuine words: *Vespasianis patre et filio consulibus*, as they read in old manuscripts, into, *Vespasiano III. filio iterum consulibus*, or even into, *Vespasiano IV. filio iterum consulibus*, as will be found in modern editions of Pliny’s works. In so doing, however, these learned savans forgot that Vespasian, cos. III., was the colleague of Nerva, and not of Titus. The other so-called emendation of Pliny: *Vespasiano IV. filio iterum consulibus*,

is a still greater master-piece of ignorance, because the coss. Vespas. IV. Tit. II. belong, according to Petavius himself, to the year 72 A. D., during which Pliny's eclipses were impossible. The latter could occur only A. D. 71, viz., the ecliptic full-moon on March 4th 8h. P. T., $8^{\circ} 4'$ west, the ecliptic new-moon, on March 20th 9h. 30' A. M., $8^{\circ} 11'$ west. These eclipses evidence again that Petavius has antedated, by one year, all consuls intervening between Claudius and Titus. Besides, the same total eclipse of the sun Plutarch (*De fac. i. o. l. c. 13. Opp. Vol. IX. p. 680 Reis.*) observed in Greece, where it commenced at noon (*ἐν μεσημβρίας ἀρξομένη*).

6. Josephus (*B. J. VI. 4, 5*) and the Talmud (*Tha. 29, 1*) bear witness that the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed on the 10th day of the month Lous (Aug. 10th), being a Saturday, viz., in Vespasian's second year, consequently, A. D. 71, and not in 70 A. D. For, A. D. 71, Aug. 10th, was a Saturday; and Tacitus (*Hist. II. 79, 81*), Sueton (*Vesp. 6*), and others, expressly report that Vespasian's reign commenced with July 1st, A. D. 70. Moreover, Xiphilinus (*LX. 4*) narrates that the same year, on the 8th of Gorpiaeus, the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed, *i. e.*, September 7th, being also a Saturday; and only in 71 A. D., was September 7th a Saturday. These two facts show again that Petavius erroneously took the consuls Verus and Priscus, A. D. 78, for ordinarii.

7. Finally, Philostratus (*V. A. VIII. 14—18*) mentions that he, with Apollonius, visited again the Olympian games during the consulate of Domitian XVII. and Clemens, that is, as Petavius correctly states, A. D. 95. As this year, divided by four, gives the remainder three, the same games must have come in order, also, A. D. 67, during the consulate of Telesinus and Paulinus, in the twelfth year of Nero. Hence, once more, Petavius must have prolonged the period from Nero to Titus by one year, the consuls Verus and Priscus must have been extraordinarii, and Vespasian must have reigned one year less, as we have seen in the premises. In conclusion, as the Olympian games were celebrated A. D. 19 and in 95, and due in 67 A. D., they must, of necessity, have been celebrated also in 41 B. C., three months after Cæsar's death, and hence,

we must infer again, that all consuls and emperors, from Cæsar to the fifth year of Claudius, ruled two years, and the following, down to Titus, one year, later than Petavius and his followers have fancied.

It would have been an easy work to corroborate these results, by a mass of similar facts, both historical and mathematical, *e. g.*, by the Isthmia and Nemea, the sabbatical years, the coins of Palestine, Egypt, Samosata, Rommagine, Flaviopolis and other cities, by the Lectisternia and other astronomical observations, eclipses, and so forth; but the arguments given will, we presume, suffice to convince every candid reader. These results are, at least, no trifles for all time to come, because they confirm the reliability of the New Testament account, and break the arrows which infidelity would aim against the records of our holy religion.

ARTICLE V.

DR. KRAUTH'S METAPHYSICS OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"The Conservative Reformation and its Theology," by the Rev. Dr. C. P. Krauth, has received a full share of attention from the press. The learned author cannot complain of indifference or neglect. His well earned reputation, as a vigorous thinker and accomplished writer, raised considerable expectation, and prepared the way for the publication of this volume. The July No. of the QUARTERLY REVIEW contained a lengthy notice of the book, with a pretty full statement of its contents. So much of the contents of the volume had already been before the readers in the Lutheran Church that its appearance, in this new form, attracted more attention from the churches less acquainted with the author's views and writings, than from his own denomination. Some portions of it, not quite so familiar as others to the readers of the REVIEW, may, on that account, warrant additional notice.

The subject indicated by the title of this article, is one that, it is believed, demands a somewhat careful examination. The very position of the author, as "*Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania*," will entitle his utterances on such subjects to the more weight, and should, therefore, subject them to the more rigid scrutiny.

Luther, as is well known, was cautious in employing philosophy to support or defend his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He preferred to rest it solely on the divine word. But Dr. Krauth has ventured into the most misty mazes of metaphysics to find support for his arguments, and to confound his opponents. It is more than doubtful whether his success has justified his temerity, and whether it would not have been better for him to follow the advice and example of the great reformer. The philosophy presented in this volume will not greatly aid, either the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or the cause of truth in general. Indeed, it will be well if it is not used to foster doubt, and to encourage skepticism both in philosophy and religion.

To avoid all misapprehension on the part of our readers, and to guard against the perversion of what may be presented, it is deemed necessary to say a word in advance. It is so fashionable with some men to meet any thing that does not suit their views, with the cry of opposition to the Lutheran faith, or to the New Testament doctrine, that it is hazardous to write on such subjects, if one cares for ignorant prejudice. But, to avert all this, and to keep clearly in view the real point under discussion, let it be distinctly understood, that it is no part of the design of this article to discuss the Lutheran doctrine, or any other doctrine, of the Lord's Supper. Certain metaphysical views prominently advanced and indorsed by the author of "*the Conservative Reformation*," in defence of his own exposition of the Lord's Supper, are what will claim attention. Nothing but blindness or unreasoning prejudice will find anything in this discussion unfriendly to the genuine Lutheran faith.

That the reader may be in possession of the views to be

criticised, it will be necessary to quote from "*the Conservative Reformation*," at some length. Pages, 787, 788, we read:

"Why, then, if we ask for the light of that modern philosophy which it is thought can clear up the mystery left by revelation, why, in any case, do we believe, or know, or think we know, that there is a human body objectively in our presence? It is regarded by the mass of thinkers as certain that we never saw a human body, never felt it; but that the consciousness of the human soul is confined to its own modifications and impressions, and that our conviction that the modification we perceive, when we are convinced that a human body is before us, is the result of an objective body, and consequently presupposes its substantial existence, is an act not of cognition, but of faith—a faith which has been repudiated by the whole school of pure idealists, by many of the greatest European speculators, and in the philosophy of nearly the entire Orient. So far as philosophy, therefore, can determine it, we have no more absolute cognition of the objective, visible presence of a natural body than we have of the objective, supernatural, invisible presence of a supernatural body. Our persuasion of either presence is an *inference*, an act of *belief*, conditioned by testimony. We may think we have more testimony for the first inference than for the second; but it is none the less inference: it is not cognition. We *believe* that bread is there, on the *evidence* of the senses; we believe that Christ's body is there, on the *evidence* of the word. The knowledge or belief of the non-ego, or external world, involves one of the grandest problems of speculative philosophy. The popular idea that we are cognizant of *the very external things* in themselves which we are said to see, hear, and feel, is entirely false. All accurate thinkers, of every school, admit this. This is the common ground of the extremest idealism and of the extremest realism. Hegel and Hamilton stand together upon it. So much is not speculation; it is demonstration; and yet to the mass of minds this demonstrated fact in metaphysics seems as palpable and ridiculous a falsehood as could be devised."

This contains the gist of what is to be examined. It is a

most remarkable statement, or summary of views, to appear from such a quarter, and to be put forth in the interests of Lutheran Theology. Apart from its very doubtful character, not now to use a stronger expression, as a matter of philosophical speculation, it is calculated to mislead those, whose confidence in the volume induces them blindly to confide in its teaching, so as to feel "it unnecessary to refer to other works while reading it."

The specific subject, it will be observed, is our cognition of 'body objectively present,' or of "the reality of an external world." Dr. Krauth asks: "Why, in any case, do we believe, or know, or think we know, that there is a human body objectively in our presence?" After presenting what he would have us accept as a full and fair exhibition of the teaching of the different schools of philosophy, on this point, he concludes: "These views, which we have presented, are the sum of all the best philosophical thinking on the subject of the relation of the mind and its cognitions to the reality of an external world." Alas for philosophy, if this were true!

He very truly remarks: "The knowledge or belief of the non-ego, or external world, involves one of the grandest problems of speculative philosophy." Few, if any, subjects have more severely taxed speculative thinkers. At least from the time of Plato to the present day it has been warmly discussed. This alone, it seems to us, should have preserved Dr. Krauth from such rash and one-sided statements as he has made. This grand and difficult problem, at least in some of its most important elements, if we may believe him, is settled to a "demonstration." "The popular idea," we are informed in this volume, "that we are cognizant of the *very external things* in themselves which we are said to see, hear, and feel, is entirely false. All accurate thinkers, of every school, admit this. This is the common ground of the extremest idealism and the extremest realism. Hegel and Hamilton stand together upon it. So much is not speculation: it is demonstration."

One is tempted to ask, when, where, and by whom, was this "*demonstration*" made? An answer to this inquiry would

relieve many doubting minds and save a world of painful speculation. It will certainly surprise the disciples of Hamilton to find their master cited as standing with Hegel in denying "that we are cognizant of the *very external things* in themselves," in our perception of body or an external world.

Dr. Krauth's statements involve the following points, which it is proposed briefly to notice.

1. That we have no real cognition of body—are not "cognizant of the *very external things* in themselves."

2. That in consciousness we are 'cognizant only of the impressions and modifications within the soul itself.'

3. That our "persuasion" of the 'existence or presence of an objective reality, or body, is not an act of cognition, but of faith or belief.'

4. That the belief in the existence and presence of a natural body, and of a supernatural body, rests upon substantially the same ground—in both cases it is "an inference, an act of belief, conditioned by testimony."

All of these propositions are, indeed, involved in the first, or the first and second, but as they are all advanced, in different forms, it may be well to notice each separately.

1. That we have no real cognition of body. As already quoted: "The popular idea that we are cognizant of the *very external things* in themselves * * is entirely false. All accurate thinkers of every school admit this. * * Hegel and Hamilton stand together upon it."

It would have been well if Dr. Krauth had told us precisely what he means by "*things in themselves*." As he proposes to sift philosophy to the very bottom, he ought not to have left so vague a term wholly undefined and unexplained. It may be that he thinks any definition or explanation of this familiar formula unnecessary, but others are in doubt as to its meaning. McCosh, in his "*Defence of Fundamental Truth*," says, "It is high time to insist on knowing what is meant by this phrase ('the thing in itself—*Ding an sich*') taken from Kant, and with which of late years so many metaphysicians have been conjuring. It cannot be allowed to play a part any longer till it explains itself. It seems full

of meaning, and yet I believe that if we prick it, it will be found to be emptiness. I understand what is meant by the *thing*; it is the object existing. But what is meant by *in itself*? I acknowledge no itself beside, or besides, or beyond the thing. I confess to be so stupid, as not to be able to form any distinct idea of what is meant by the thing *in itself*. If it mean that the thing, the whole thing, is within the thing, I have about as clear a notion of what is signified as I have of the whale that swallowed itself." p. 109. There may be some others as "stupid" as Dr. McCosh, and for whom the phrase should have been explained.

As Dr. Krauth has not explained the phrase, and Hamilton is cited to sustain his allegation, he may be allowed to speak for himself and to explain his own meaning. He says, "When we say, therefore, that a thing is *known in itself*, we mean only that it stands face to face, in direct and immediate relation to the conscious mind; in other words, that, *as existing*, its phenomena form part of the circle of our knowledge—exist, *since they are known*, and are known *because they exist*." (Discussions p. 60).

"A thing is known *immediately* or *proximately*, when we cognize it *in itself*. * * Immediate cognition, thus the KNOWLEDGE OF A THING IN ITSELF, involves the *fact* of its existence. * * An immediate cognition, inasmuch as the thing known is *itself* presented to observation, may be called a presentative; and inasmuch as the thing presented, is, as it were, *viewed by the mind face to face*, may be called an *intuitive cognition*. * * In a presentative or immediate cognition there is *one sole object*; the thing (immediately) known and the thing existing being one and the same. * * Intuitive knowledge is *complete* and *perfect*, its object known being at once real, and known as real. * * I hold that a belief in the existence of an extended world external to the mind, and even external to the organism, is not a faith blindly created or instinctively determined, in supplement of a representative or mediate cognition, but exists in, as an integral constituent of, Perception proper, and as an act of intuitive or immediate knowledge." (Notes to Reid, pp. 805, 812, 883).

It would be easy to quote by the page from Hamilton to the same effect. Every student of Hamilton knows that it is a chief aim in his philosophy to establish, on firm ground, the doctrine of our immediate cognition of external things. "He labors," says Dr. McCosh, "particularly to show that sense perception being evoked, there is nothing between it and the object, * * but that we gaze at once on the object, in fact are conscious of it." Had Hamilton written on purpose to refute the statement of Dr. Krauth, he could hardly have used language more definite, or more to the point.

Dr. Krauth is too well versed in metaphysical terms to attempt to fall back upon Hamilton's doctrine of the *relativity of knowledge*, which has no direct bearing upon the point in question. Hamilton, it is true, does maintain that our knowledge of both mind and matter is not absolute, or unconditioned, but only relative; yet this does not at all conflict with his earnest and uniform teaching, that we are "cognizant of the very external things in themselves."

If Dr. Krauth employs this phrase in the sense that Hamilton defines, and uses it again and again, then the case is a very plain one. If he employs it in a different sense from Hamilton, when speaking of him and his doctrine, he should, in common fairness, have informed his readers, and explained his meaning of the term. If he uses it after the manner of the Kantian *Ding an sich*, then we have two things to observe. First, that, according to some of the very best authorities, the words have no intelligible meaning—"mere names," "emptiness;" and, secondly, that if they mean anything beyond matter or mind as a concrete existence, with its qualities or properties and relations, it can have no bearing upon his argument. The point is the cognition of body, or the knowledge of an external world, and not the question of any hidden, mysterious, unknown, "underlying substance."

We repeat, then, that if he uses Hamilton's own words in the sense in which they are used by that distinguished thinker, or in any other intelligible sense, they will not support the declaration he has made. To quote once more from Hamilton

on this point, he distinctly says: "*To know a thing* IN ITSELF *or immediately*, is an expression I use merely in contrast to the knowledge of a thing in a representation, or mediately. On this doctrine, an external quality is said to be known *in itself*, when it is known as the immediate and necessary correlative of an internal quality of which I am conscious. * * I have frequently asserted, *that in perception, we are conscious of THE EXTERNAL IMMEDIATELY AND IN ITSELF. This is the doctrine of Natural Réalism.*" (Notes to Reid, p. 866). And even Dr. Krauth admits Hamilton to be the "leader" of Natural Realists.

Sir William Hamilton repeats, over and over, that he did hold this doctrine of our immediate cognition of "external things in themselves." He employs the most explicit terms to convey his meaning. He defends it with great zeal and matchless power. He exposes the difficulties of conflicting views. So far as we know, no one has heretofore questioned that Hamilton maintained this doctrine. But Dr. Krauth surprises us by the information that Sir William Hamilton stands with Hegel in denying what he and his friends had always imagined he maintained, and upon which, largely, his reputation as a philosopher depends. We incline to think that, in this case, Sir William Hamilton is the better judge, and that Dr. Krauth has inadvertently fallen into an error.

Nor is Hamilton alone in this view of our immediate cognition of external things. We do not know whom Dr. Krauth includes in his category of "accurate thinkers"—whether only John Stuart Mill and his school of Positive Philosophy—but we do know that individuals who are not wholly without reputation as "accurate" and "vigorous" thinkers, have advocated the same doctrine with Hamilton. It may suffice to mention the names of Mansel, McCosh, and Porter.

MANSEL says, "Presentative or intuitive consciousness is the consciousness of an individual object, be it a thing, act, or state of the mind, immediately present before me, *here* and *now*; that is to say, with a definite position in space or in time, or in both. * * For example, I see a triangle drawn on paper. * * The triangle is before me, as an object seen

in itself, not necessarily representative of any thing else." (Metaphysics, pp. 34, 35).

McCOSH: "I maintain that we do know, and this intuitively, external objects. * * I ask those who would doubt of this doctrine, of what it is that they suppose the mind to be cognizant in sense-perception. If they say, a mere sensation or impression in the mind, I reply that this is not consistent with the revelation of consciousness, which announces plainly that what we know is something extra-mental. If they say, with Kant, a mere phenomenon in the sense of appearance, then, I reply that this too is inconsistent with consciousness, which declares that we know the thing." (Intuitions of the Mind).

Again: "We lay down the maxim, that the mind knows intuitively *the thing itself*, not all the thing, but the thing in the mode in which it is presented. * * If we are asked to prove this, we answer that this is a primary cognition, which does not admit of proof by any other cognition clearer or simpler, or more fundamental. The mind holds the object to be a real object—it may imagine it to be otherwise, but cannot judge or believe it to be otherwise. The mind cannot trust to itself at all if it cannot trust to itself in this." (Divine Government, p. 536).

PORTER: "It (the intellect) not only knows itself directly and those acts and objects that are purely spiritual, but it knows material objects also, and by its prerogative as an agent competent to know. * * We say, then, without reserve, that the mind in sense-perception, knows matter or material being as truly and directly as in consciousness it knows the ego or mental being." (Intellectual Science, p. 535; Human Intellect, p. 636).

Comment upon these testimonies is unnecessary. Dr. Krauth must excuse us if we decline to accept of either the "*demonstration*," or the statement that "all accurate thinkers, of every school, admit this." It will require more evidence to settle this grand problem—and especially to settle it against the common sense of "the mass of minds," and many of the most profound thinkers of modern times.

2. "That the consciousness of the human soul is confined to its own modifications and impressions, * * and that we never saw a human body, never felt it," Dr. Krauth says, "is regarded by the mass of thinkers as certain." Under the head of "*Realistic Idealism*," he says, "All that the human mind immediately and absolutely knows is its own states of consciousness," and cites Sir William Hamilton as admitting "all this."

The quotations from Hamilton in support of this statement will be noticed by and by. Meanwhile we will cite enough from that author to show what he did actually hold and teach. He says, "The assertion, that we can be conscious of an act of knowledge, without being conscious of its object, is virtually suicidal. A mental operation is only what it is, by relation to its object; the object at once determining its existence, and specifying the character of its existence. But if a relation can not be comprehended in one of its terms, so we can not be conscious of an operation, without being conscious of the object, to which it exists only as correlative. * * Annihilate the object, you annihilate the operation; annihilate the consciousness of the object, you annihilate the consciousness of the operation. * * *It is palpably impossible that we can be conscious of an act without being conscious of the object to which that act is relative.* * * *Consciousness and immediate knowledge* are thus terms universally convertible; and if there be an immediate knowledge of things external, there is consequently the *consciousness of an outer world.*" "In the act of sensible perception, I am *conscious* of two things;—of *myself* as the *perceiving subject*, and of an *external reality*, in relation with my sense, as the *object perceived*. Of the existence of both these things I am convinced: because I am *conscious* of knowing each of them, not mediately, in something else, *as represented*, but immediately in itself, *as existing*. * * Each is apprehended equally, and at once, in the same indivisible energy, the one not preceding or determining, the other not following or determined. * * Such is the fact of perception as given in *consciousness*, and as it

affords to mankind in general the conjunct assurance they possess, of their own existence, and of the existence of an external world." (Discussions, pp. 54, 55, 57; Metaphysics, p. 147; Notes to Reid, p. 747.) Hamilton may not have always been perfectly consistent with himself in his statements, but this one great distinguishing principle—our immediate knowledge or consciousness of external objects—he steadfastly and most earnestly maintained. In support of this, his favorite doctrine, he marshaled all his immense stores of learning, and was so intent upon it, that it has been said by one of his ablest expounders and greatest admirers—"Hamilton spent his life in defending our *immediate knowledge of an external world* and necessary truth." To quote more from Hamilton on this point would be superfluous.

Dr. Krauth saves us the necessity of examining the history of this subject, or of inquiring into the views and opinions of philosophers in past ages. His assertion is, that "it is regarded by the mass of thinkers as certain." This he affirms to be the present view of the "mass of thinkers." Of course if this were so, it would be entitled to great weight on such a point. But we doubt the accuracy of the assertion. Outside of the school of the Positive Philosophy, and those strongly sympathizing with that school, we doubt whether the whole tendency of recent speculation, and of the soundest judgment, is not the very opposite of this. Dr. Krauth admits that such a view is opposed to the "popular idea," and to the "mass of minds" is "ridiculous." To this may be added the conclusion of many of the most acute and profound thinkers of the present age. Since Hamilton expounded so elaborately his views, others have followed in the same direction, and the current of thought is by no means what Dr. Krauth represents.

We do not know, indeed, what means Dr. Krauth may have of ascertaining the views of the "mass of thinkers," but it is a very significant fact, that in our own country, the Philosophy taught in the oldest and most renowned seats of learning, as at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, etc., as well as at Oxford, England, is directly opposed to such a theory. As

this is not a matter of cognition, but of "*belief*, conditioned by testimony," we must again withhold our assent until we have better evidence of the fact. A few testimonies will be cited to show that the very opposite views are, or were lately, held by eminent men in high places.

Mansel says: "A second characteristic of Consciousness is, that it is only possible in the form of a *relation*. There must be a Subject, or person conscious, and an Object, or thing of which of which he is conscious. There can be no consciousness without the union of these two factors; and, in that union, each exists only as it is related to the other. The subject is a subject, only in so far as it is conscious of an object: the object is an object, only so far as it is apprehended by a subject; and the destruction of either is the destruction of consciousness itself." (Limits of Religious Thought, p. 96). Again, "The distinction between an act of consciousness and its object, though logically valid, has psychologically no existence. In no actual operation of consciousness can the act be separated from the object, or the object from the act. By no mental abstraction can either of these correlatives be conceived apart from the other. * * Presentative consciousness contains two constituent elements—the conscious subject, and the object of which that subject is conscious." (Metaphysics, pp. 35, 133).

PORTER: "We are conscious of the object somewhat as we are conscioas of the *ego*. * * We cannot conceive it possible that we should know that we know, enjoy, or choose, without knowing *what* we know, enjoy or choose. In other words, in being conscious of an act or state, we must be conscious of the state or act in relation to, and as therefore including the object." (Human Intellect, pp. 96, 97). How earnestly Dr. McCosh advocates the doctrine of the immediate cognition, or consciousness, of an outer world, and how vigorously he has opposed those who seek to undermine the very foundations of philosophy and religion, is well known to the readers of his various works. Dr. Krauth cannot be unacquainted with these things, but his zeal for what he regards as Lutheran doctrine, has led him to make statements that

he will find it difficult to defend or justify; and we may add, that even if true, they would not aid any sound theology.

3. 'That our "persuasion" of the existence or presence of an objective reality, or body, is not an act of cognition, but of faith or belief.' Dr. Krauth repeats over and over, in substance, that we have no actual or real "cognition" of body, or of an objective reality, but that it is a matter of faith. We have quoted enough already, under the former heads, to show the views of some very distinguished thinkers on this subject; but as he cites Sir William Hamilton in support of his allegation, it will be necessary to examine the most plausible of his quotations, and see how far they bear him out. Dr. Krauth charges Sir William Hamilton with having completed a circle in his speculations in philosophy. In justice to that illustrious thinker, it should be remembered that his "Lectures on Metaphysics" were never prepared by himself for publication, but were published posthumously, and had been written hastily, during the Fall and Winter of 1836 and 1837—nearly twenty years before he gave the world his last and most matured views. Still it is very doubtful whether he can be made to contradict himself, even by the strange process of taking detached clauses and sentences, harshly torn from their connection, and altering the words to suit the purpose.

We are presented in "the Conservative Reformation," pp. 791, 792, with a collection of quotations from Sir William Hamilton, professedly on the point now under consideration. We begin: "The existence of God and immortality are not given us as phenomena, as objects of immediate knowledge." Of course not, in the sense in question. "The existence of an unknown substance is only an inference we are compelled to make from the existence of known phenomena." This quotation, from Hamilton's Lectures, p. 97, however specious, utterly fails of its object. There is not a syllable in it incongruous with Hamilton's doctrine, abundantly shown in quotations already given, or to support the design of its quotation. Hamilton is discussing the *relativity* of our knowledge, or that we know nothing absolutely. He concludes: "Our

whole knowledge of mind and matter is thus, as we have said, only relative." The "external things" of which, according to Hamilton, we are immediately cognizant, and the "unknown substance" whose existence "is only an inference we are compelled to make," are phrases used by Hamilton with quite different meanings, and so acute a scholar as Dr. Krauth ought not thus to confound them. Hamilton gives us some idea of what he means by this "unknown substance," when he says, "Take an object; strip it by abstraction of all its qualities, of all its phenomena, of all its relativities; reduce it to a mere unconditioned, irrelative, absolute entity, a *mere substance*; and now try to think this *substance*. You cannot." (Notes to Reid, p. 935). This is what Hamilton means by "substance," but is this what Dr. Krauth means by "external things," or by a "natural body?"

The next quotation may be readily passed by as having no bearing on the question. Following we have—"In the perception of an external object, the mind does not know it in immediate relation to itself, but mediately in relation to the material organs of sense." An examination of the connection will show that Hamilton, in this question, from his Lectures, p. 103, designed simply to affirm that the mind, in sense-perception, does not act independently of, and without, but through, the senses. Just this, and no more; and Dr. Krauth must have been hard pressed to find quotations to suit him.

After divers other quotations to show that Hamilton held to consciousness being the same as immediate knowledge, and that all real knowledge is immediate knowledge, we have this, from Lectures, p. 152: "What is *said* to be mediately known, is, in truth, NOT KNOWN to be, but only BELIEVED to be: for its existence is only an inference, resting on the *belief* that the mental modification truly represents what is *in itself* beyond the sphere of knowledge." From the capitals and italics put into this quotation it is evidently regarded as decisive, and yet we imagine that there must have been some misgiving about making this use of Hamilton's language. It must be a very desperate cause that requires such proof.

Let us notice the simple truth in the case. Hamilton is controverting "Reid's assertion of memory being an immediate knowledge of the past." He undertakes to prove that "immediate knowledge of the past is impossible," since we can only have immediate knowledge of the present and as actually in existence in relation to our faculties of knowledge. In this sense, "of any past object, real or ideal, the mind knows and can know nothing, * * or if said to know such an object, it can only be said to know it mediately, as represented in the present mental modification." Then follows: "Properly speaking, however, we know only the actual and present, and all real knowledge is an *immediate* knowledge. What is said to be *mediately* known, is, in truth, not known to be, but only believed to be; for its existence is only an inference, resting on the belief, that the mental modification truly represents what is in itself beyond the sphere of knowledge." What Hamilton says about the *past*, beyond the sphere of actual knowledge, brought back in representation by memory, Dr. Krauth would use as applying to a body in our immediate presence, and the object of immediate knowledge. Hamilton's consistency will not be in very great danger of suffering from any amount of such apparently conflicting views. By the same process we would undertake to prove that the Formula of Concord "admits" the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper, or that Dr. Krauth himself advocates it.

The quotations which have the most show of favoring Dr. Krauth's statements are found on pages 803 and 804 of his volume, and taken from Hamilton's Notes to Reid, pp. 750, 760. A fair examination, however, of what Hamilton means and actually says, will show that even in these quotations there is nothing inconsistent with what he uniformly taught as to our cognition of body. The question is—"How we know that we know it?" As to "the external world," he insists that "*we are immediately cognizant of it as existing.*" (Notes to Reid, p. 750). But continues, "If asked, indeed—How we know that we know it?"—or the same question in another form, p. 760—"I can only say, using the simplest language,

'I know it to be true, because I *feel* and *cannot but feel*,' or 'because I *believe* and *cannot but believe*, it so to be. And if further interrogated, how I know or am assured, that I thus *feel*, or thus *believe*, I can make no better answer than in the one case, 'because I *believe* that I *feel*,' in the other, 'because I *feel* that I *believe*.' It thus appears, that when pushed to our last refuge, we must retire either upon Feeling, or upon Belief, or upon both indifferently."

Elsewhere he says: "In perception, consciousness gives us an ultimate fact, *a belief of the knowledge of the existence of something different from self*. As ultimate, this belief can not be reduced to a higher principle; neither can it be analyzed into a double element. We only believe that this something *exists* because we believe that we *know* (are conscious of) this something existing; the *belief of the existence* is necessarily involved in the *belief of the knowledge of the existence*. BOTH ARE ORIGINAL OR NEITHER." (Discussions, p. 93).

He employs these terms, Feeling and Belief, to show that we reach a point where we must trust what we know. "But reason itself must rest at last upon authority; for the original data of reason do not rest on reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself. These data are, in rigid propriety, Beliefs or Trusts." It must, at once, excite suspicion that Hamilton's own language, fairly interpreted, does not bear the meaning put upon it, since it was found necessary to alter his words while quoting them. Two words in the professed quotation, by Dr. Krauth, are not Hamilton's own, but words substituted to help convey the meaning desired. Thus Hamilton's "*Beliefs or Trusts*" as vouchers for the reliability of our knowledge or 'cognition of the external world,' become, in Dr. Krauth's hands, "belief or trust" as the substitute for knowledge. How far Hamilton was from admitting, as is alleged, the doctrine that our "persuasion" of the existence and presence of an external body is not an act of cognition, but "an *inference*, an act of belief," a fuller quotation from the very paragraph of which Dr. Krauth has given a part, will clearly prove: "When it is argued by the Cosmothetic Idealists—'The ex-

ternal world exists, because we naturally believe it to exist; the illation is incompetent, inasmuch as it erroneously assumes that our belief of an external world is a primary datum of consciousness. *This is not the case.* That an outer world exists is given us, not as a 'miraculous revelation,' not as a 'cast of magic,' not as an 'instinctive feeling,' not as a 'blind belief.' These expressions, in which the Cosmothetic Idealists shadow forth the difficulty they create, and attempt to solve, are wholly inapplicable to the real fact. *Our belief of a material universe is not ULTIMATE; and that universe is not unknown.* 'This belief is not a supernatural inspiration; it is not an infused faith. We are not compelled by a blind impulse to believe in the external world, as in an unknown something; on the contrary, WE BELIEVE IT TO EXIST ONLY BECAUSE WE ARE IMMEDIATELY COGNIZANT OF IT AS EXISTING.'

In what light Hamilton regarded the view he is said to "*admit*," another single quotation will show. "Belying the testimony of consciousness to our immediate perception of an outer world, it belies the veracity of consciousness altogether. But the truth of consciousness, is the condition of the possibility of all knowledge. The first act of hypothetical realism, is thus an act of suicide; philosophy thereafter is, at best, but an enchanted corpse, awaiting only the exorcism of the skeptic to relapse into its proper nothingness." (Discussions, pp. 69, 70). Yet Dr. Krauth would fain persuade us that Sir William Hamilton, "in effect admits all this."

4. That the belief in the existence and presence of a natural body and of a supernatural body rests upon substantially the same basis—is only "an inference, an act of faith, conditioned by testimony"—is another of the strange features in the philosophy of this volume. We are positively assured that "so far as philosophy can determine it, we have no more absolute cognition of the objective, visible presence of a natural body than we have of the objective, supernatural body. Our persuasion of either presence is an inference. * * We may think we have more testimony for the first inference than for the second; but it is none the less inference; it is not cognition."

The term "*absolute*" is here slipped in along with cognition, but the connection and whole drift show that it is used in the sense of real or actual, and not technically as opposed to "*relative*." The question is not as to the extent, but the reality of our knowledge of a 'natural body, objectively and visibly present.'

We should like to ask Dr. Krauth on what these "*inferences*" are based; or by what process he *infers* the presence of a natural body, external to himself, from certain modifications and impressions within the soul. It is probable that on the very same ground that he rejects the immediate cognition of body, he would have to reject the basis of his inference, and find himself without any starting point. This passage, from simple "consciousness confined to its own modifications and impressions" to the "belief" in an external world, *via inference*, is indeed one of "the grandest problems," and we should be glad to see Dr. Krauth attempt to solve it. John Stuart Mill, according to Dr. Krauth, "one of the most vigorous thinkers of our day," has attempted it, and signally failed. His grand conclusion—"The world of Possible Sensations succeeding one another according to laws, is as much in other beings as it is in me, it has THEREFORE an existence *outside me*; it is an *External World*"—is a marvel in its way. Hamilton would style it an "*illusion*" that is "*incompetent*." One of the school that is so approvingly appealed to, declares: "*The skeptical argument for the non-existence of an external world, as a mere play of reasoning, admits of no reply.*" If, then, Dr. Krauth would have us admit his "*inference*," he ought at least to tell us on what ground. He is persuaded of the existence of natural bodies, of an external world, and if he rests his persuasion on a mere "*inference*" he should tell us on what that "*inference*" rests. He is so positive about it that we have a right to know.

Enough has probably already been offered to show the inconsistency of the statements criticised with much of the soundest and very best philosophical thinking of modern times. The maintenance of such extravagances is calculated

to bring, not only philosophy, but men's common sense and reason, into disrepute. To confound sight and faith, cognition and belief, or to consider the evidence in both cases the same or similar, is to disregard the plainest distinctions, and to cover with obscurity what God has been pleased to make clear enough for all to see and know. We do not, indeed, deny the sufficiency of the evidence on which our faith in the supernatural is challenged, or maintain that it is any the less worthy of credence than what we see with our own eyes. But we do affirm, that to say in the one case as in the other, it is not cognition, but only "an inference, an act of faith," is to trifle with men's common sense, and to vaunt a philosophy "falsely so called."

It will not be pretended that any one of our senses gives us any knowledge, mediate or immediate, of a supernatural body, or that we are in any way conscious of such an existence. On the other hand, it will not be denied that, mediately or immediately, and through our senses, we have some kind, or some degree, of knowledge of natural bodies. Many insist that we are immediately cognizant, or conscious, of them. For the knowledge or belief of the very existence of the one we are wholly dependent on divine revelation; as we never saw or felt a supernatural body. For a knowledge of the other we depend chiefly on our senses, and when we speak of the testimony of our senses, it is only by a figure of speech. The natural and the supernatural belong to entirely different spheres, address themselves to different elements in our nature, and are believed to exist on wholly different grounds.

The Bible not only recognizes the reliability of our cognition of an external world, but it appeals to the difference between our knowledge gained through the senses, and the belief or faith resting on testimony. The apostles, who were to be 'witnesses unto Christ, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth,' must be men who had "seen" the Lord. As an evidence that they had "not followed cunningly devised fables" in making known "the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," Peter appeals to the fact that they "were eye-witnes-

ses of his majesty." To convince the incredulous disciples, Christ showed them His hands and His feet, and to cure the doubt of Thomas, which had resisted the testimony of his fellow apostles, He said, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

Dr. Krauth does not seem to have reflected that the philosophical speculations he has made use of to confound his opponents, might be turned against himself and his own views. It is dangerous to employ weapons that may pierce the man who uses them. If the existence of bodies, both natural and supernatural, is only a matter of "inference," and an "inference" in regard to natural bodies, "which has been repudiated by the whole school of pure idealists, by many of the greatest European speculators, and in the philosophy of nearly the entire Orient"—if the doctrine of the non-existence of "external things" is so well sustained, that "we have the same evidence that confessedly deep thinkers have believed it that we have that men believe any other doctrine"—then it would seem that the "inference" in regard to the existence or presence of a "supernatural body" is not clear enough to carry general conviction. We may be left in doubt in regard to both. Or we may think that we have no more testimony for the second "inference" than for the first. *Pyrrhonism* or *Nihilism* cannot then be very far distant. Dr. Krauth doubts or denies our consciousness as to the reality of an outer world. Sir William Hamilton very truly and forcibly says: "Consciousness, once convicted of falsehood, an unconditional skepticism, in regard to the character of our intellectual being, is the melancholy, but only rational result. Any conclusion may now with impunity be drawn against the hopes and dignity of human nature. Our *Personality*, our *Immateriality*, our *Moral Liberty*, have no longer any argument for their defence. 'Man is the dream of a shadow;' God is the dream of that dream." (Discussions, p. 100).

We are happy to believe that Dr. Krauth's Theology is much better than his Philosophy. The one may be a little hyper-orthodox, but the other lacks the very soul of truth, and any firm basis of support.

ARTICLE VI.

NEW PHASES OF THE ARGUMENT FOR IMMORTALITY.

By Rev. C. A. STORK, M. A., Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Johnson's reply to Boswell's iteration of the arguments for the immortality of the soul, "Sir, I could wish there were more," expresses a wish felt by most thoughtful men. It may be a wish unuttered, not always fully acknowledged even to themselves, yet with a vague sense of dissatisfaction it will recur. After going over the stock reasons and old arguments which, though so old and worn so thin with frequent handling, have yet a sacred interest from the treasures of hope and peace that men have laid upon them, one feels that so great a hope as that of life unquenched by the grave is entrusted to very few and very slender props. A sort of halo of glory transfigures and at the same time conceals the real fragility of the famous argument Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates in the *Phædo*. With many other proofs which are merely corroborative, his crowning argument is "purely verbal, and but the expression of an instinctive confidence put into a logical form: 'The soul is immortal because it contains a principle of imperishableness.'"^{*} The argument con-

^{*}Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*, Vol. I., p. 376.

"The truth is that Plato in his argument has collected many elements of proof or persuasion, ethical and mythological, as well as dialectical, which are not easily to be reconciled with one another. * * While we may translate the dialectical into the language of Hegel, and the religious and mythological into the language of Dante or Bunyan, the ethical speaks to us still in the same voice, reaching across the ages.

Two arguments of this sort occur in the *Phædo*. The first may be described as the aspiration of the soul after another state of being. * * Plato recognizes in these aspirations the foretaste of immortality; as Butler and Addison in modern times have argued, the one from the moral

tributed by the Schoolmen to the general stock is merely an ingenious play on the words "uncompounded" and "dissolution," and does very well as a curiosity of literature; but when put forth as a solid buttress of proof, it makes us doubt whether our fore-fathers really knew what it was to have a genuinely strong and troubling intellectual doubt. Butler's famous Analogy disperses a host of annoying objections. It serves the negative purposes, for which it was intended, perfectly, but towards bridging the gulf of darkness that lies beyond the grave, it furnishes, as it was intended to furnish, little or nothing. Pascal's disjointed thoughts, in the well known passage on the misery of man,* though far from logi-

tendencies of mankind, the other from the progress of the soul towards perfection.

The other ethical proof of the immortality of the soul is derived from the necessity of retribution. The wicked would be too well off if their evil deeds came to an end. It is not to be supposed that an Ardiaus, an Archelaus, an Ismenias could ever have suffered the penalty of their crimes in this world." Jowett, Vol. I., pp. 377, 378.

*"The greatness of man is so evident that it is deducible even from his misery. For that which is the natural state of animals we call misery in man: by which we acknowledge that, our nature being now similar to that of animals, we have fallen from a better nature which we once possessed. Who is unhappy at not being a king, except one who has been deposed?"

"We are desirous of truth, but find only uncertainty. We are ever seeking happiness, and find nothing but misery and death. We are unceasingly pursuing truth and happiness, yet are incapable of the real enjoyment of either."

"Such is our misfortune—we have an idea of happiness, yet are unable to realize it; we form conceptions of truth, but possess only falsehood: incapable alike of absolute ignorance or of certain knowledge, we exhibit evidence of the perfection we once possessed, in the very depth of our unhappy fall." Pascal's *Thoughts*, pp. 81, 87, 105.

It is true Pascal does not infer from these aspirations, so splendid yet so baffled, man's immortality. He saw in them only the magnificent ruins of a fallen nature. He argued from the majesty of the decay the splendor of the original structure, and the need of a builder. But the same misery and futility of life that point back to a fall, point forward also to a restoration. If man's satisfaction is to be found only in God, and this world is too small to fill the soul, this same unfitness and incoherence between man and his place here affords the strongest possible argument for a future

cal in their form, and not at all arranged for attack or defence, afford perhaps, after all, the most satisfactory intellectual ground for that strongest and most pathetic of all human hopes, the hope of existence after death.

I say the most satisfactory *intellectual ground*; for whilst, as believers, we may rest with serene confidence on the revelation of the life eternal made by Christ in the gospel, yet as intellectual beings, having natural appetites of reason which healthfully crave their satisfaction, it is not possible to leave the great question of future existence to be solved only by the positive affirmations of revelation. The reason of man has always craved a substantial chain of argument connecting existence here with existence after death. It sought this with a more passionate earnestness before the revelation of Christ, because then all hope must needs come through the gate of reason. Even now to many who are divided in mind, the Thomases, who by their very organization are compelled to doubt and question where the Peters and Johns rejoice in the full assurance of faith, "whose minds range from the highest ecstasies of faith to the sharpest agonies of despair," the argument that answers the demands of reason, is still a thing to be wistfully sought. Dr. Johnson was no scoffer and no weakling. It was not sentimental longing, nor a covert sneer, that prompted the expression of his wish. And though many of us may not echo his desire with the mournful sense of spiritual insecurity that he seems to have felt, yet all who think at all deeply, may very easily say with him, "I could wish there were more."

That such a longing is widespread among the cultivated classes of society, we have evidence enough in much of the writing of the day. An influential section of literature has begun to look towards death with something of the pathetic

state. How significant, in this light, is Pascal's famous characterization of man: "See, then, the mystery of man! What a being of crudities,—what a monster,—a chaos!—What a compound of contradictions,—a prodigy! The master of all knowledge,—an abject worm of the earth: the depositary of truth,—the sink of uncertainty and doubt: behold him, at once, the glory and the opprobrium of the universe.' "

feeling of the later writers of Greece and Rome. There is the same fond recurrence to past joys, the same hapless clinging to the present moment, and reluctant yielding to its flight, the same approach to old age as if with averted face and hopeless melancholy, the same shrinking from death as the quenching of all sensibility, and all this greatly intensified in tone by reason of contrast with the sunny prospects held out by what it feels compelled to account only the sweet fable of Christianity. Mr. Morris' poetry is perhaps the best type of the class.* Even a poet so deeply Christian in general feeling as Mr. Lowell shows occasionally something of this sombre pagan tint. Mr. Emerson, who, notwithstanding the lofty tone of much of his earlier writing, may fitly be called

*I have been looking over Mr. Morris' remarkable poem, "The Earthly Paradise," in vain to find some short passage that will illustrate my meaning. It is not so much any direct assertion or palpable, defined embodiment of this feeling that gives character to his book and the class it represents, as a vague, diffused sentiment or undertone breathing through all, too elusive to grasp, but too manifest to be mistaken. The following passages are, perhaps, the nearest to a full expression of the feeling I have attempted to describe: these lines from the opening "Apology" of the author:

"Of Heaven or Hell I have no power to sing,
I cannot ease the burden of your fears,
Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
Nor for my words shall ye forget your tears,
Or hope again for aught that I can say,
The idle singer of an empty day.
But rather, when aweary of your mirth,
From full hearts still unsatisfied ye sigh,
And, feeling kindly unto all the earth,
Grudge every minute as it passes by,
Made the more mindful that the sweet days die—
Remember me a little then I pray,
The idle singer of an empty day."

This lyrical snatch from "Ogier the Dane," one of the stories in the "Earthly Paradise" most thoroughly steeped in this drench of melancholy, is still more expressive:

"Weep, O Love, the days that flit,
Now, while I can feel thy breath;

the philosopher of mortality, is full of it. It is the natural outcome of an age that is, on one side of its culture at least, unsatisfied and incapable of being satisfied with the current intellectual argument for immortality. Where there is only desire but no assurance noting itself in intellectual conviction, rather assurance that the preponderant testimony of reason is the other way, the tone must be that so monotonously sustained throughout the "Earthly Paradise," "the desire for immortality in the midst of denying it."

Another evidence is found in what the *Spectator*, in a very thoughtful article suggested by the late Prof. Grote's posthumous paper on the Future State, calls attention to as "the visible diminution in the hostility once entertained by science to the idea of the future life." The old contemptuous silence maintained by science towards the proposition that there could be any future life, has given way to a disposition to speculate as to the nature and conditions of such an existence. The longing for continued existence, which asserts itself with louder persistence as men feel the incompetence of this life to fill their desires, seems to have awakened in this age with a new force. That longing may arise from two different sources. It may arise from great calamities overwhelming the hopes of nations and cutting off the easy gratification of the natural appetite. So Rome was prepared for Christianity by a series of crushing blows that blasted the national pride, shut up its future, and compelled men to look beyond the world for relief. It may arise also from the satiety of all natural appetites, convincing the general mind unconsciously

Then may I remember it
 Sad and old, and near my death.
 Kiss me, love !- for who knoweth
 What thing cometh after death ?"

Examples might be multiplied without bringing us any nearer to an apprehension of the intensely sad and hopeless yearning for life that breathes so pathetically and, in the midst of the cheerful hopes inspired by our common Christianity, so strangely from this very suggestive book. It must be read in order to understand how deep a melancholy of unbelief can open in the midst of all our Christian culture.

by the unrest still remaining in the most flawless prosperity, that "man doth not live by bread alone." In the last century men were satisfied with very meagre arguments for the immortality of the soul, because they did not long so passionately as in former or later periods to be sure of a future state. Indifference is a poor critic. And the men of the last century were very indifferent to existence after death. They were tugging and fighting with the near prospect of obtaining the great prizes of increased liberty, immunity from many natural evils. Paradise was to be brought into the world by French Revolutions, the general spread of intelligence, the amelioration of the condition of men by science. In this temper men were in no passionate longing for proof of a future state. They were not in a mood to criticise sharply the proofs that were offered. Whatever was nearest to hand would satisfy so languid a demand. And Philosophy could afford to treat with contempt the belief in a future state which men held not so much because impelled by intense desire, or on deep intellectual conviction, but from tradition.

But the old unrest has awakened again. Men perhaps never felt so deeply the passionate longing of the Middle Ages and of the better times of Greece and Rome for immortality. Science and the mechanic arts, the sway of modern ideas in smoothing the lot of humanity, have not yet done their complete work ; but as compared with the past they have done so much that men are beginning to find out it is not the amelioration of life here that can satisfy, but the extension and expansion of life, endless in duration and infinite in capacity. There has probably never been an age when men were so well fed and housed, so skilfully nursed, so carefully educated, so variously amused, so flattered with fair prospects of the world's future wealth and prosperity ; and yet, with it all, never have men been so sensible of a deep desire for life beyond. The very power with which a delusion, so crude and vulgar as Spiritualism, has taken hold of great classes in all parts of the civilized world, bears a striking testimony to

that deep seated hunger which, in the midst of all material prosperity, men feel for another life.

Now, whilst among great masses of men unused to thinking, this desire will find satisfaction in the evidence afforded by the follies of Spiritualism, the thoughtful mind of the age is asking for more thoroughly convincing proofs of a future state than have hitherto been given outside of revelation. This demand is persistent and full of serious determination. It will not consent, on the one hand, to be satisfied with weak arguments, nor, on the other, to have the question contemptuously waived as beneath the notice of philosophy. Science has felt the aroused instinct too strong to be sneered down. Even the strongest advocates of that universal reign of natural law, which shuts up inexorably the future to our inquiries, have been constrained to weigh the question as one at least open to debate.* At the same time, to meet the demands of the age, the defenders of a belief in a future state have been driven to seek new arguments, or at least a new construction from a deeper and more thoroughly analyzed basis of the old.

* A striking illustration of this change in tone, is to be found in the passage quoted below from one of the most advanced and able in the great army of skeptical thinkers, now busy in building the new philosophy of Evolution. It is a remarkable concession. Though its author evidently does not apprehend its true significance, it really surrenders the key of the contested position: "He who believes that his thread of life will be severed once and forever by the fatal shears, well knows that he wants a purpose and a joy in life, which belongs to him who looks for a life to come. Few men feel real contentment in the expectation of vanishing out of conscious existence, henceforth, like the great Buddha, to exist only in their works. To remain incarnate in the memory of friends is something. A few great spirits may enjoy in the reverence of future ages a thousand years or so of 'subjective immortality;' though as for mankind at large, the individual personal interest hardly extends beyond those who have lived in his time, while his own memory scarce outlives the third and fourth generation. But over and above these secular motives, the belief in immortality extends its powerful influence through life, and culminates at the last hour, when, setting aside the very evidence of their senses, the mourners smile through their tears, and say it is not death but life." *Tyler's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II., p. 98.

The author of the remarkable paper, ("The Character of Christ—does it supply an adequate basis for a religion?"), lately published in the *Contemporary Review*, declares that one of the great wants of these days, is a stronger argument for immortality. He goes so far even as to point out the line in which, as it seems to him, such an argument, to be the strongest possible, must lie. He finds it outlined in his definition of *worship*. This he defines to be "the desire of the creature to be like the Creator, accompanied by the consciousness of its own imperfection and powerlessness." The argument for immortality implied in this definition, is briefly as follows: Man's moral structure impels him to seek a likeness to his Maker, but he is, at the same time, conscious that from the nature of his environment and very organization, he can never attain that likeness here. The only escape from the apparent blunder and failure in the very structure of man, is found in the assumption of a life beyond, where opportunity is given for the fulfilment of this imbedded impulse. The argument is of the same nature with that which proves the existence of light in the depths of the ocean because animals are found there having eyes: the organ implies the function, and the function implies the conditions necessary to its exercise.

Without defending this definition of worship, which seems a little artificial, as if contrived to fit into a special joint in the writer's argument, let us follow out the clue presented. Whether the definition be sound or not, the material of it, viz., that man has a desire to imitate God, and that he is conscious he can never fully do so here, is simply a statement of common facts. Can we construct these materials into an argument? They seem to lead us, as we ponder them, into the dimly outlined track of Pascal's meditation on the misery of man quoted above.

If we ask, in following up this line, Is it not true that men have a hunger for immortality? it will be answered, Not universally. But is not the very line of separation between those who desire ardently a future life and those who do not, the line that marks off the nobler, truer manhood from the

lower, more animal? Furthermore, is not the dividing line between the period in any one man's history in which he does begin to desire immortality, and that in which he was careless of it, the boundary between his better and his baser life? In other words, do not men turn to the thought of immortality, cherish it, feel more intensely the hunger for it, as they grow in the predominance of the intellectual over the sensual, of the moral and spiritual over the intellectual? Alcibiades does not care much for immortality or the doctrine of immortality, but Socrates gathers up his very life into the thought and desire of it. Marcus Aurelius seems steeped in the depths of sadness as he remonstrates with what he esteems his too eager desire for future existence, but his vicious son Commodus never troubled his head about any other state than that in which he could eat and drink and play the tyrant to his heart's content. In our own experience we find that in times of moral elevation, as when we have, at the cost of sacrifice, done our duty, or been seized with the enthusiasm of love, or been able to calm ourselves into submission under some stroke of calamity;—in times of spiritual vitality, when we have been able to rise into the serener atmosphere of faith, or been lifted into the self-forgetfulness of intense prayer, or held in the rapt contemplation of the glory or tenderness of God,—in such passages we find that the sense of the life beyond, its intense reality, its ineffable sweetness of allurements, and the almost sickening longing for its existence to be established beyond shadow of doubt, possess us.

Let us compact the argument into logical form, and then, as space will allow, draw it out in detail.

As man develops from the ruder, more animal, to the finer, more spiritual, the desire for immortality grows more intense. This argues the reality of a life beyond; else we should have the anomaly in the universe, so far as we have observed it, of an organism developing impulses as it approaches perfection which, since they have no proper end or result here, are fitted only for another state, when no such state exists,—as if a worm should weave a cocoon and prepare for the change to a butterfly, and there be no air for it to fly in. Tendencies de-

veloped in the line of increased perfection, point to a preparation for their fulfilment. The histories of nature and of the upward growth of man, are full of illustrations of this law. If the lungs are given, there is air for their use. If an eye is introduced, there is light for vision. If the ear is fitted with vibratory apparatus, there is air with its undulating waves for sound. The girl is endowed with the instinct of maternity: it is the evidence that she is destined for motherhood. If man, rising above his animal nature, ripening into vigor of mind and largeness of sympathy and nobleness of character, knowing God and aspiring to his fellowship, is only destined to dream his sweet dream of immortality, and then perish, he is not only, according to Pascal and Pliny, the most miserable of beings, but also the greatest failure and blunder of creation.

We shall feel the force of this argument more as we dwell on the various features of expectation and aspiration towards a future life developed in an enlarged growth and approach to perfection.

It may occur to some to object here that the desire for immortality has no essential connection with the true perfection of human nature. The standard of perfection to the philosopher who takes into view the whole range of human development, is very shifting and variable. Our ideals of excellence are shaped mainly by the modern, Occidental, excessive, almost exclusive valuation of the active virtues, such as enterprise, inquisitiveness, acuteness, invention, sensitiveness, fastidious refinement, busy benevolence that inquires sedulously after its neighbor and his welfare. Our ideal man is a Howard or a Wilberforce, a Channing or a Washington, a Chalmers or a Robertson. But there are other and totally different types of value in character. The Oriental finds its ideal in the contemplative, passive virtues. The Classical fixes perfection in proportion, order and symmetry. It may be urged that what seems to us an approach to perfection, the growing sharpness of intellectual perception, the impressible moral nature, the enlarged and sensitive sympathy of our modern, Anglo-Saxon good man, is really only a morbid loss of

balance; that the connection of an increased ardent desire for immortality with a proportionate development towards what we call perfection, is merely a symptom of disordered harmony,—just as the thirst of fever, growing with increase of heat, indicates not a real need of water as resulting from a healthy increase of vitality, but rather the contrary. We judge the ecstatic Wesley, looking for the blessed hereafter to dawn on his aching vision, near perfection. We call the sensitive woman all purity and refined sensibility, weaned by adversity from earth, panting for higher atmospheres, spiritualized by the predominant use of mind and conscience and affection beyond the capacity for earthly passion, speaking after the manner of men, perfect. But the philosopher, who values man in relation to earthly uses as well as heavenly, who measures him as playing a necessary part in the great whole, and has regard to the symmetry of character as well as its fineness, may call this, while very beautiful, yet very far from perfection.

But there is one measure of perfection which, though its reach is not lofty, is yet determined and appreciable. The first essential to perfection, is persistence. There must be the perpetuation of life and its gains before there can be any elaboration or improvement of it. A nation must transmit from generation to generation its vitality in at least unwaning force, if it would advance, either as a whole or in its individual members. Any tendency, therefore, that impairs this self-perpetuating and progressive vitality stamps itself as away from perfection. The decay of the belief in immortality does impair this self-perpetuating power. When men come to see in the grave the final bound of their being, they lose the force, and joy of life. The spring that resists and persists, is broken. Whatever, therefore, strengthens the belief in a future state, increases the vital force of a community and is, by consequence, a development towards perfection. But we have seen that the type of character which most effectively feeds the desire for immortality, is the spiritual, occidental type: men believe more strongly in a life to come as they refine in this.

The chain of reasoning is complete: That type of character which gives most solidity and propulsive power to life, is nearest perfection ;

But the development which furnishes most vitality, is the very one that most effectually nourishes the belief in, and desire for, immortality ;

The type, then, that most intensifies the belief in a future state, is nearest perfection.

In short, things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. As men grow to perfection, they grow in longing for another and higher life.

There is only one link of this chain that may need to be strengthened. Is it true that the decay of belief in immortality does impair the self-perpetuating power of a community? Let us read some lessons on this point out of two chapters in the world's history.

China was once in the line of ascending nations. Before the age of Confucius, (B. C. 551), the inventions of the compass, gunpowder, and the art of printing were familiar to her people. When Germany was yet a rude forest swarming with forest tribes, China had planned and executed her great national works on the Yellow River. When Greece had not yet an orator, philosopher or historian, the Chinese literature, exceeded in value only by those of a few other races, was already formed. But for nearly one thousand years she has stood still.* The ideas that once were vital have petrified in her grasp, and remain only as bulwarks to delay, by their traditional fixedness, the inevitable current of decadence. The meaning of many of their own inventions have been lost to them. The art of printing and the compass, which were discovered, as in the Western communities, in the upward movement of the national life, have been left unimproved and incapable of their higher uses. They were invented by men,

*"If the intelligence of China only reached its prime when first awakened by Confucius, it was passing through the phase of manhood, if not verging to a state of absolute servility, when Choo-he breathed his last, in A. D. 1200." *Hardwick's Christ and Other Masters*. Vol. II., p. 25.

but they are in the hands of later generations only as children's toys. The whole cast of civilization in China is that of inheritance. There are indications even that many of the discoveries of the vigorous youth of the nation are being lost.

This stagnation and long pause ere the era of decadence was fully established, dates from the period when the philosophy of Confucius fairly took hold of the national mind and infiltrated down to the common people. That philosophy, while it taught many noble moral truths, was singularly deficient in any positive affirmations of a future state. Not so much by direct assertion, as by a studied silence, did Confucius attack the belief in a life beyond. By indirection the total strain of sentiment pervading his system discourages his disciples from laying out life with any reference to existence after death. "Endeavor," he says, "so to rule yourself according to the sacred maxims, that you may be fitted first to rule a family, and lastly may attain the highest point of your ambition,—an office under government. To practical men the theatre of this present life gives ample scope for enterprise: it teems with stern realities and all-engrossing cares: perhaps, too, it may prove your last, your sole possession. * * More particularly aim at that which forms the crowning excellence of all, be scrupulous in your devotion to the Emperor."*

Could any philosophy more thoroughly quench in its disciples the thirst for immortality? The inevitable tendency of such teaching, when once fairly planted in the general thought and belief of the people, is to dwarf life. The motives and sanctions that can be drawn only from the narrow span of life here, are too feeble and low to impel progress beyond the mere gratification of the bodily and more obvious intellectual wants.* To shut man up to these, cuts to the roots his moral life. It shears him of his spiritual powers. It extinguishes hope. It narrows the horizon and lowers the

*"An obvious tendency of all the 'reformation' Confucius promoted was to deaden the activity of the human intellect." *Hardwick's Christ and Other Masters*, Vol. 2. II., p. 33.

vast cope that act so powerfully on the moral and religious nature. The result we see in that tideless, waveless sea of life in which the millions of China have lain motionless for so many hundred years. That vast empire carries its civilization, bearing the marks of a life once progressive, fresh, inventive, as a huge mechanism strangely out of proportion to its present spirit and powers. Its population, with their many arts and elaborate growth of inventions, seem like a party of barbarians who have got possession of a steamship they have learned by rote from its original builders to direct, but which they are incapable of improving, repairing, or even using for its highest purposes. The loss of a strong belief in immortality has fallen like a palsy on the nation, and there are not wanting the signs that they are slowly sinking back from the advance made ages ago by their ancestors.*

A decadence more rapid and startling has been noticed by thoughtful observers in a nation of modern Europe. France was once vigorous and fresh. Hers was the most progressive thought of Europe. In science and art, in military and commercial vigor, she pressed in the foremost ranks of modern advance. But long before the collapse of her late defeat, acute observers, both among her own thinkers and abroad, began to note the signs of decay. Her virile vigor was on the wane. Her population ceased to increase. The physical vigor of her people was declining.† Her capacity to perceive truthfully, her ability to advance in invention, her grasp of prosperity—that nameless something which lies back of armies and fleets, of legislatures and cabinets, of wealth and machinery, of schools and arts, without which all these are

*“According to Renan (*Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 200, 1857), the Chinese were, of all people, the least supernaturalist, which may (he thinks) explain ‘the secret of their mediocrity.’ ” *Hardwick's Christ and Other Masters*, Vol. II. p. 57.

†I cannot just now lay my hand on the papers, but readers of the *Nation* will recall the startling statements published in that journal during the last eighteen months, drawn from French authorities, as to the decrease in fertility, vitality and general physique of the French people.

only the tools of a man in the hands of a child—the national life, if we may so call it, had too evidently fallen sick of a steadily wasting disease. Many causes have been alleged as working this decay—the terrible wars of the First Napoleon cutting off the young men, the lack of colonies, the drain of taxation, the withering blight of Ultramontaniam, the stifling atmosphere of Caesarism. But all these were, in greater or less degree, felt in surrounding nations, and yet they found force to struggle upward, or at least to hold their own undiminished.

One sufficient canker lay at the root of the national life, to account for all. The brain and heart of the nation were devoid of belief. Her thinking men, her artists and philosophers, her statesmen and lawyers, her inventors and teachers, had long ago practically, and to a large extent from conviction, cut off the hope of immortality. The doctrine of the philosophers, that man had no future beyond the grave, had steadily filtered down to the common people. The young men and women of France had no faith. The motto over the gate of Pere la Chaise, "Death is an eternal sleep," had fixed itself in the heart of Paris as a practical belief. "Tomorrow we die," said Paris, from the emperor on the throne to the *gamin* in the gutter, and the logical inference carried out in the life, was the old reasoning of the ancient unbelieving world, "let us eat, drink and be merry." Now, when a nation in its best thought and power has set this for its aim, the decline of life, the end of all greatness, is not very far off. France had blotted out the world to come, and her history has shown that to do this is to cut away the sinews that move the world that now is. Explain it as we may, the silent teachings of all nations and ages confirm the simple wisdom of Christ, "Man does not live by bread alone." When men have abandoned hope of a future life, they have unstrung the thews that can wrestle with the present.* It would appear

*Taine's description of the character and cause of that degradation and brutalization of Italy, which so shocked Luther on his visit to Rome, might almost be read as a picture of the moral and social condition of

from these and like though less striking illustrations, that the faith of immortality is necessary to the health of human life. It dwindles and pines when shut into this earth and the narrow verge of time. It may live, but it will not grow. It will not even long hold what it has attained to.

From these considerations we argue the belief in immortality, and the practical acceptance of it in life, to be essential to that vigor of being without which there can be no advance towards perfection. We observe, also, that as this advance towards perfection grows more marked, the intenser grows

France since the Revolution of 1789, and more especially under the 2nd Empire.

"Luther was horrified at this voluptuous life, now reckless and now licentious, but always void of moral principles, given up to passion, rendered light by irony, shut in by the present, destitute of belief in the infinite, with no other worship than that of visible beauty, no other object than the search after pleasure, no other religion than the terrors of the imagination and the idolatry of the eyes."

"Leo X. hearing a discussion as to the immortality or mortality of the soul, took the latter side. 'For,' said he, 'it would be terrible to believe in a future state. Conscience is an evil beast, who arms man against himself.'" *Taine's History of English Literature*, Vol. I., p. 353.

Now what were the fruits of this decay of morals and loss of belief in immortality? An extract from another page of the same vivid sketch, portraying the results a hundred years later, will show:

"In this society which was turned into a circus, amid so many hatreds, and when exhaustion was setting in, the foreigner appeared: all bent beneath his lash; they were caged, and thus they pine away, in dull pleasures, with low vices, bowing their backs. Despotism, the Inquisition, the Ciceri, dense ignorance, and open knavery, the shamelessness and the smartness of harlequins and rascals, misery and vermin,—such is the issue of the Italian Renaissance. (See, in Casanova's *Memoires*, the picture of this degradation. See, also, the *Memoire* of Scipione Rossi, on the convents of Tuscany at the close of the 18th century." Vol. I., p. 355.)

Are we reading an old lesson in a new dress as we trace the same line of succession in the sad history of France? The picture of the moral condition of his countrymen drawn by M. Gabriel Monod, in a sketch of his experience as a volunteer in the campaign of the Loire, is parallel to the above: "The campaign showed considerable decay of warlike feeling, but no development of morals, religion, or education to keep pace with it." There was nothing approaching to religion amongst them, not even superstition. "True piety, the mystical attempt of the mind to reach a higher

the faith in and desire for a future state. From these grounds we argue that man was made for immortality.

The argument, be it remarked, is not that man has a desire for future existence, an instinct of immortality, as Jowett calls it in his comment on the *Phædo*. This might exist, as Robertson, in his matchless sermon on the resurrection, has shown, without affording and solid ground of intellectual conviction in favor of the existence of a future state. But the argument is, that when man ceases to cherish this belief he lapses into a state of decay. The hope of immortality is a necessary condition of man's development towards perfection. It is one of the organs of his flowering, ripening life. It is the spring that impels him to rise; as the inexplicable instinct of the plant impels it to move towards the light by which it lives; as the instinct of the worm impels it to weave the cocoon for the butterfly state into which it was intended to emerge. The alternative is conclusive in its conviction: if there be no future state, then man is so constructed that he needs, for his highest development, to cherish a belief which is false, and a desire which is never to be fulfilled. He is built on a scale absurdly disproportioned to his destiny, and impelled by powers hugely too great for the effects to be produced; as if a machinist should contrive a steam-hammer to drive a tack.

It remains only to point out how this belief increases in

and invisible world, was unknown. It is impossible, for instance, to imagine an army of Frenchmen singing with heart and voice a religious and patriotic song like the German hymn, 'Ein feste burg ist unser Gott.'

The case would have been different if our soldiers had had even strong moral convictions; but while they scoffed at priest and church, they were equally ready to laugh at purity and every other home virtue. The ordinary talk of the French soldier is of that broad kind which we call *gri-vois*—the pleasantry of an easy, cynical, shallow habit of mind, which, with a certain air of innocence, is never happy unless it is endeavoring to destroy and defile everything higher and holier than itself. It is fortunate for the listener if the talk does not drop from this into something filthier still." (*Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1871).

The connection of the decay of force, indicated here, with the loss of belief in the invisible world, and a faith in immortality, is very significant.

intensity, vividness and blessedness in each man's experience, in proportion to his development towards a higher manhood.

1. One of the most common experiences of life, is a growing dissatisfaction with it, the longer and the better it is known. This, when rightly read, is an illustration of the truth, that as men grow larger they look the more eagerly for another state of existence. Heaven has been called the consolation of the unsuccessful. Emerson in his brilliant way flouts the poor soul that solaces itself for its failure here with the hope of a hereafter, as unfit for this or any other world. But there is a meaning in the home-sickness with which the disappointed turn to the hope of a future life. It is not only the men who fail that feel the need of something beyond. The prosperous are also the unsatisfied. If you find a man at rest in the mere gains of life, completely at ease in his successes, you find an ignoble man. Where the mind has grown with its conquests, and heart and brain have kept pace, there comes always as the final strain an inextinguishable sense of dissatisfaction. There never was a great statesman, or general, poet, or philosopher, that did not in some public or private unburdening of his soul echo the sigh of Solomon, "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." That huge incapacity of the soul to its scope here, which only begins to reveal itself as it has wider forage, grows more and more apparent. Wealth, power, pleasure, knowledge, fame, all are like food to one dying of thirst: they are felt more keenly, with every increase, to be specifically inadequate. "I feel," says Sir Isaac Newton, "like a child who has picked up a few shells on the shore of the boundless ocean." This has been taken to be only an instance of the true philosopher's humility. It is an expression, rather, of the philosopher's longing. There is an unmistakeable note of dissatisfaction in it. He had penetrated new domains of knowledge, explored them, and left them open forever to men; but, after all, they seemed but petty. His eye is fixed on a wider horizon, and reaches after larger things. It is an augury of immortality.

Probably no thoughtful man ever met with great successes without having something of the same experience. He

seemed to himself, after all, not to have really succeeded. The truth is, the very elevation of the soul enlarges its horizon. The higher it climbs, the higher rise the heights above it. As the powers expand the desires enlarge. And this is an argument for immortality. The growing strength of the bird's pinions, are the prophecy of his powers of flight and also of the aerial world in which he may use those pinions. So, as men feel the capacity for larger things, the longing for another existence increases. Those who have felt this thirst for another world the strongest, are those who have had the most of this. It would not be easy to picture a life more successful in the highest achievements than Paul's. The conquest of men's minds, the gratification of large purposes, the dominion of an unparalleled influence, the exercise of the supremest faculties of wisdom, eloquence, enthusiasm,—all these were his. The man that could sing in a dungeon and walk the deck of a foundering vessel unshaken, who had made a Felix tremble and won the love of a hundred churches, had really tasted the best of this world. He sums all up when he says, "for me to live is Christ." But that same man declares, he groans with the desire of being "clothed upon with his house which is from heaven." This longing did not spring altogether from his religious nature. Faith gave it shape, reality, blessedness, the "Hope that maketh not ashamed;" but faith did not give it birth. Voltaire, at the close of a life of pleasure, culture, fame, when the people of Paris, on his visit there, bore him aloft in triumph, declared that life was only misery. "I wish," said he in despair, "I had never been born." It was unbelief that shaped his gloom; but it was the longing for an existence commensurate with his capacities and aspirations that gave its substance to that gloom. Paul and Voltaire alike felt the insufficiency of life here. Their very successes made them feel that. But the one hoped for another life, grasped it by faith; the other despaired of it.

2. A still more subtle argument for a future state, is to be had in the sense of incompleteness in the satisfaction of affections here, and consequent yearning for another life, exper-

ienced by men. It is not only that the early loss of friends leaves the earth empty and compels a hope of heaven to receive the dead. That increased longing for a hereafter, its sudden nearness, and intense reality, felt at such times, is not in itself an argument of great force. It has some weight, it is true, even with the reason; but not much. It is to the heart that it proves all-sufficient. It gives strength and clarity of vision, and feeds as with invisible nourishment. Life expands and refines, at such times, as the sense of immortality pervades every thought, and gives a higher cope and broader horizon to every experience. It is not the sorrow, in such cases, that purifies and invigorates: it is rather the intensified hope of immortality. Where affection cut off reaches no prophetic thoughts into the world beyond, there is no improvement of the life. Here we find the two playing back and forth into each other. Manhood expanded by the growth of affection is prepared to entertain the hope of a future existence; and the hope of a future existence grasped more firmly lifts the life up to a higher level.

But it is in those cases where no barrier of death is interposed to dam up, and so give accumulated force to the affections, that the strongest illustration is afforded. It is not uncommon, though always perplexing to ordinary solutions, to see a character elevated, refined, made sweet and sunny by the growth of affection, gradually sitting looser, in later years, to the objects of its earlier tenderness. The reason of this is not far to seek. There is a sense of failure in this life to round out and fill up the heart's capacity for love, even when those we love live on. Our children grow up; but there has something slipped out of the man that was in the child. Our friends grow old by our side; but the affection that was so beautiful in the promise of its bud, does not unfold in its flower and fruit that which we expected and for which we feel an unquenchable craving. Love grows; but what love fed on no longer feeds it. The nature softens, and broadens, and grows lambent and transparent with the exercise of tender affections. There is a manifest growth. The hard scales

of self-interest, self-absorption, harsh judgment, and inflexible dispositions, fall off; and the strong, supple, warm pliancy of a heart that lives in the lives of others reveals itself. But that which called all this forth grows too feeble, or, rather, does not grow fast enough to give it an adequate support. The vine climbs up the trellis, and waves its ringlets and tendrils above, reaching out into the empty air.

As character refines, it detects the inevitable flaw in the object of affection. It does not, therefore, cease to love; but it does discover in that its need of a higher sphere. Affection, as it purifies and drops its dross, heightening the nature that entertains it, discloses an element of infinity, which it can neither exhaust here, nor even find any adequate scope for in those very objects on which it fixed, and by which it was first kindled. It is this dissatisfaction of love with its own exercise and with its objects, this sense of a capacity developed, a function formed, with no adequate scope afforded them here, that turns the eye of those who have grown tenderest and purest and finest by affection to another world. As men are made perfect they the more long for a future state. The riper love has always a look beyond, a look of expectation in it.

3. We turn now to the strongest form of this argument. It is that suggested by the writer spoken of in the early part of this paper, in his definition of worship: "the desire of the creature to be like the Creator, accompanied by the consciousness of its own imperfection and powerlessness." This he declares to be the material out of which the strongest possible argument for a future state may be formed. If developed in the line indicated in the foregoing part of this present paper, it would certainly be very strong. The argument, as it lies in the mind of the writer mentioned above, seems to be only of the nature of a presumption from an unfulfilled desire: Man will live hereafter, because his desire to imitate his Maker is never gratified here. But the argument constructed so as to give it the greatest possible strength, would include another element, viz.: that this unfulfilled desire is one de-

veloped in the line of growing perfection, is, indeed, essential to perfection. Let us construct it with the aid of this new element.

With the development towards perfection, the sentiment of reverence, or religion, grows continually stronger. Indeed, nothing is more monstrous, or more suggestive of disease and weakness, than the growth of intellect and æsthetic culture without a reverence for God and a sense of duty. As men have watched the brilliant, fetid career of such a genius as Heine, and the modern school of French Bohemians, his followers; or the hideous vagaries and final downward plunge of our own Poe, it has come home to their soberest convictions, that development, without worship, is only the fore-runner of decay. The time when religion was ridiculed as superstition, or denounced as priest-craft, has long passed away. Even the most advanced of modern scientists have felt pressed to recognize, not only that man must have a religion, but also that his highest perfection lies in the track of its aspirations and sanctions. Comte, after he had demolished all other religions, found it necessary to construct one of his own; and among those officiating at this new shrine, were to be found, last winter, in London, some of the brightest scientific lights of England—Mr. Mill, Sir John Lubbock, and others. Prof. Huxley, though a good hater of all that bears the name of religion, is constrained to characterize it as “the noblest and most human of man’s emotions,” and would be glad to introduce that worship which Paul found so pitiable at Athens, “‘for the most part of the silent sort,’ at the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable.” Mr. Darwin is one of the committee who support the notorious Rev. Charles Voysey, sometime Vicar of Healaugh, in his new variety of religion, at St. George’s Hall, in London. The creed of the Paris Commune, temporarily kept in the back-ground, but really held, that God should be voted out of existence, and all religion abolished, was, to the thoughtful world, the last evidence of French madness and weakness. The religious nature, it

is conceded, is the flower of man's development. It marks the highest pitch of perfection and strength.

But religion is the aspiration of man to the likeness of his Maker. It is true, in its lower, debased forms, it takes on the shape of fear, of servility, of fawning mendicancy. The God of the lowest savage, is a devil. The Allah of the Mohammedan, is a stern warrior-ruler. The religion of the ignorant Romanist, is a wheedling and cajoling of heaven, through the influence of saints, who are the courtiers near the throne. But the tendency of religion, as it struggles upward in man's growth, is always towards the ethical form.* Its true ideal is found in David's hope, and John's assurance—"I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness;"—"We shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is."

The longing of every spiritual soul, is after God; first, as a giver of pardon and peace; then, as a source of light and joy; but, at last, in the highest aspiration and deepest yearning, to be like him. To "be partakers of the divine nature;" "to put on the Lord Jesus Christ;" "to be "presented faultless before the throne of his glory,"—these constitute the essence of religion in its highest forms. The expressions here used to describe this character are scriptural; but the character itself is something that belongs to human nature wherever it develops upward. The instances of it among those we are accustomed to judge hopelessly heathen, are something startling. The desire uttered so pathetically by the Greek moralists, for a release from the corruption and bondage of the body, is only another form of this desire to become like God. The retirement of the Indian Purana to solitude, under a banyan tree, by the river-side, there to fast and dwell between four fires, and under a fifth, the terrible sun, "to fix his imagination upon the feet of Brahma, next upon his knee, next upon his thigh, next upon his navel, and so on, until, beneath the strain of this intense meditation, hallucinations

*See Tyler's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I., Chap. I.

begin to appear, until all the forms of existence, mingled and transformed the one with the other, quaver before a sight dazzled and giddy, until the motionless man, catching his breath, with fixed gaze, beholds the universe vanishing like a smoke beyond the universal and void Being into which he aspires to be absorbed,"*—all this is only one, though a more debased, form of the same aspiration after God. There have appeared lately, in the *Cornhill Magazine*, some of the folk-songs commonly used by the people of the Dravidian stock, the race which speaks Tamil, Telegu, or Canavese, quite remarkable in this feature. One extract from a popular song must suffice:

"The wise man saith
That God, the Omniscient essence, fills all space
And time. He cannot die or end. In Him
All things exist. There is no God but He.
If thou wouldst worship in the noblest way
Bring flowers in thy hand. Their names are these,—
Contentment, justice, wisdom. Offer them
To that great essence—then thou servest God.
No stone can image God. To bow to it
Is not to worship. Outward rites cannot
Avail to compass that reward of bliss
That true devotion gives to those who *know*."

Is not this an expression of the same feeling as that in David's Psalm,

"If I were hungry,
I would not tell thee:
For the world is mine,
And the fulness thereof.
Will I eat the flesh of bulls,
Or drink the blood of goats?
Offer unto God thanksgiving;
And pay thy vows unto the Most High?"—

or that in Paul's speech, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands as though he needed anything?" It is the aspiration of the creature to the likeness of the Creator in holiness and perfection.

*Taine's *History of English Literature*, Vol. I., p. 3.

The Bible is full of this longing. Jacob, when he sets out, a young man, to seek his fortunes, prays by his rocky pillow in Bethel, "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the Lord be my God." But when he returned, twenty years later, and wrestled all night with his unknown visitor, he prayed only, "Tell me, I pray thee, thy name;" and gave thanks that he had seen the face of God. Jacob had grown in spiritual life. He aspired to God. David first prays, when his hands are stained with Uriah's blood, "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God." But he rises to a higher experience when he says, "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." The strain of impassioned longing into which Paul breaks out in his letter to the Philippians, expresses the same longing after the perfection of God: "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. * * I count not myself to have apprehended * * I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

The experience of the spiritual minds of the Church has flowed, ever since, in the same channel. Augustine's Confessions breathe his aspirations after the divine likeness. The beautiful characters of Mediaeval Christianity, rare and solitary, like flowers on the edge of Alpine snows, express the same thirst. Witness the hymns of that period, the Invitation of Christ, the Sermon of Bernard of Clairvaux, the lives of such men as Francis of Assissi, and Luther's favorite, the *Theologia Germanica*. Of later times we need not speak particularly. This type of religious experience has abounded in the modern Church. From Flavel, falling into a meditation, on his journey, of the excellence of God, and being so ravished with desire to partake it as to have lost all desire to see wife or children again, to Edwards walking by the river-side, lost in sweet meditation of God's holiness, and in longing for its fulfilment in himself, and so down to Robertson of Brighton, hungering, amidst all the fevers and passionate

sufferings and sacrifices of his exalted life, for the very image of God, one desire characterizes all.

But interwoven with this universal aspiration, is the consciousness of an abiding imperfection. As the hunger for goodness increases, the sense of inability to satisfy it grows with it. It is no satisfaction to know that progress is being made to that which is better; for with the progress in character goes the clearer insight that detects the hidden flaw; goes, too, the larger sense of goodness. From these one can no more escape than from his shadow. The better men become, the more conscious are they of their spiritual poverty. So strong is this conviction, that we test the genuineness of every religious experience by the presence or absence of this pathetic "consciousness of its own imperfection and powerlessness." We instinctively distrust the complacency of the satisfied man. We do not believe in the virtue that has no sense of deficiency. The one most palpable flaw in the old Stoic morality, was its arrogant, serene self-satisfaction. It makes us suspicious of all the pretensions of the ancient philosophers; and we are not surprised to find that these good men were very hard hearted and very easy in the indulgence of appetite. The ring of the true gold is heard in the Publican's cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner." It is the voice of the lofty prophets, "all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." It is the constant testimony of the noble apostles, "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;"—"not as though I had already attained." It is a stroke of naturalness in the gospel, that the young man, of whom it is expressly declared; 'Jesus loved him,' is painted as saying, "What lack I yet?" His sense of want was more lovely than all his actual virtue.

It is this sense of something wanting, this "consciousness of imperfection and powerlessness" to reach its aim in goodness, that makes the future state grow more and more desirable to the religious mind.

"On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round."

That hope of the 'perfect round,' is infinitely alluring to the soul that sees its hope of final completion in goodness,

and attainment to the likeness of God, always eluding its grasp, and flitting farther away. David, at last, rested only in the hope of a completeness to be found in a future state: "I shall be satisfied, when I awake with thy likeness." He even grows impatient in his longing: "My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God." Paul gloried in the thought, "then shall I know even as I also am known."

In brief, as men grow stronger, purer, brighter, more full of all beauty, do they expressly declare that life here is incapable of satisfying their longings. When religion has brought them nearest the perfection of manhood, they most urgently feel the need of another life to gratify its aspiration.

"If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable:" that condenses the whole argument in a nutshell. If we grow to perfection only by religion, and religion, at its purest, feeds its very life chiefly on the prospect of its consummation in another world, and there be no existence after death,—then is man the riddle of the universe, and all our reason is confounded. We cannot believe that the nature of man thrives best on a lie. It is inconceivable that the aspirations needful to bring human nature to its finest strength and glory, are but a cheat. Substantial progress, in the order of this universe, is never built only on illusions.

ARTICLE VII.

THE RIGHT TO THE NAME LUTHERAN.

For some time, we have been hearing a great deal about the right to the name "Lutheran." Some self-constituted judges of Lutheranism assume to have discovered that the General Synod is essentially an un-Lutheran body, and that honesty demands the abandonment of the name which connects it historically with the work of the great reformer. But little attention has been given among us to these statements.

Their use has been so manifestly a mere expedient of ecclesiastical partizanship, that they have been deemed unworthy of a serious refutation. Their transparent purpose has been thought enough to destroy their force. Being found, however, an easier means for impression, in certain directions, than argument or facts, the empty cry has been continued. So constantly and vigorously have the changes been rung upon the allegation, that even sensible people are in danger of being led to think there must be something in it. By dint of mere iteration, it has been made to look real and important. This is the only thing that makes it proper to take any notice of it. A glance at the doctrinal and ecclesiastical position of the General Synod, and its historical identity with the true life and position of our Church, is enough to show not only the utter groundlessness, but the inexcusable presumption of this charge.

1. The General Synod was formed by Synods which were the chief Lutheran bodies of our country at the time. They were the very heart of our Church, as transplanted from the fatherland. This fact must be kept in mind. Its position, however, must be judged by its own official statement of its doctrinal faith. This must decide whether or not it failed in its expressed object—to constitute itself a Lutheran body: “The General Synod of the *Evangelical Lutheran Church*, in the United States.” In language at once clear and decisive, it has placed itself squarely and fully on the great and universal Confession of our Church: “*Receiving and holding with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the word of God, as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession, as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church founded on that word.*” In thus taking as its own the very Confession of both Luther and Melancthon, the Confession in which our Church, from the first till now, has witnessed for Christ and His truth, and maintained her denominational identity, the General Synod has surely not put itself upon any un-Lutheran ground. It is a fact, too, which cannot be

denied, that this form of subscription to the great Lutheran Confession, is as rigid and complete as are those by which other churches have asserted, and now maintain their denominational identity and continuance. A comparison of it, for instance, with the mode of subscription by the Presbyterian Church to the Westminster Confession, with its well-known liberality of interpretation, will satisfy any candid mind, that there would be just as much reason to deny the General Assembly to be Presbyterian, as to say that the General Synod is not Lutheran. There would be as much sense in raising a cry that the former should give up its name, as that the latter should.

2. But the plea seems to go upon the ground that subscription to the Augsburg Confession alone, is not enough to constitute Lutheranism. Other and later symbols are thrust before us, and the right to the name is conditioned on a full reception of all these. This, unquestionably, is the position of the General Council, whose framers and supporters have been mainly intoning this denial of the right of the General Synod. To make that body truly Lutheran, they have thought it necessary to bind it to all the doctrinal statements of the Form of Concord. The sense in which they bind themselves to accept the Augsburg Confession, is as its doctrines have been there defined and developed. The Form of Concord is all interpreted into the Confession, and the two are declared to be in "the perfect harmony of the one and the same Scripture faith." Thus the Form of Concord, and not the Augsburg Confession, is made the true, definitive basis of the Council. They solemnly declare the acceptance of this doctrinal position to be essential, to entitle any one to the Lutheran name. This basis, with a claim of infallibility and immutableness equal to that of the Council of Trent, or of Pío Nono, is announced as "necessary and unchangeable." See *Fundamental Principles*, VII., VIII., IX., and the Preamble.

On this point the voice of History must be heard. It must decide the question of true, *historic* Lutheran Christianity. It declares, with great emphasis, that the Form of Concord did not originate the Lutheran Church, and has never been

necessary to identify it. The Lutheran Church "came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name," before that Form was framed. Dr. C. P. Krauth, declares the "*Augsburg Confession*" to be "*the only distinctive symbol universally recognized in the Lutheran Church.*"* In Poland and Austria, its official title is "*The Church of the Augsburg Confession.*" The Form of Concord marked a later time, and a narrow, partisan, and separatistic movement. It has in it some non-Lutheran principles that mark a variation and departure from some features of the original and true life of our Church. Viewed in the light of history, the basis of the General Synod is the truest and most faithfully accurate exhibition of the Lutheranism of the genuine Reformation period. The adoption of the Augsburg Confession alone, makes it more truly and comprehensively Lutheran than any narrow position that ignores or alters a part of the primitive life of our Church, and excludes some of its grandest and most fundamental characteristics. This, more truly than the Council, is in the historical succession of the true Lutheran Church, and inherits the name.

The design and spirit of Luther in the Reformation must not be forgotten. It is indisputable that his single aim was the reformation and revival of general Christianity, and the restoration of the whole Church, in its universal form, to primitive and scriptural purity. He had no thought of a Church in the denominational sense, or a Church narrower than catholic Christianity. Denominationalism was unknown. His conception of the Church was one of pure and broad universality. "The purification of the existing Church from her corruption, her liberation from the tyranny under which she groaned, was Luther's grand principle in assailing the papacy," *Gelzer, Life of Luther*, p. 288. In 1522 Luther wrote: "I beseech you above all things, not to use my name; *not to call yourselves Lutherans, but Christiaans.* * * The doctrine is not mine. * * *Let us blot out all party names,*

*Art. in *Evan. Review*, July, 1867.

and call ourselves Christians, as we follow Christ's doctrine."* "The object sought by Luther and the Reformation, in its first movement, was the revival and regeneration of Christianity, by an earnest return to personal religion, and by penetrating deeply into the ancient written sources of the religion of the Saviour of the world. Both paths led to the two fundamental principles of Evangelical Protestantism (known in theological language as the *material* and *formal* principle of the Reformation); *justification through faith alone*; and *the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures as the true record of primitive Christianity*," *Gelzer's Luther*, p. 291.

Luther employed himself mainly with the doctrines. These he felt to be the life-blood of the Church, and the source and power of all true reform. Hence, asserting the authority of the Scriptures above all Councils, Creeds, or Confessions, he brought men back to the Bible, and sought to bind them absolutely to it alone. The idea now dogmatically asserted by many, of the binding authority, and unchangeableness of Confessions, or past doctrinal statements of the Church, did not trouble Luther much. He utterly rejected it. Its acceptance would have rendered the Reformation an impossibility. He asserted against it the grand *formal* principle, the sole normal authority of the Holy Scriptures. He would not, for an hour, be in bondage to such a view of the finality of any already promulgated formulas of doctrine, by the Church for itself.

It is equally undeniable that Luther's doctrinal views changed, in some respects, during his work. He began with the absolute predestination of Augustinianism. He subsequently took a freer and more Scriptural position. On the subject of the sacraments, he was at one time disposed to take a more subjective view, but the wild excesses of Carlstadt and the fanatics, threw him back into more decided and extreme antagonism to that destructive tendency. He "*laid stress*," says Gieseler, "*upon agreement with the universal*

**Luther's Work*, Vol. XVIII., p. 293, 6th Leip., Ed.

Church," not only in regard to ecclesiastical forms, but as to doctrines. In general, he was not disposed to enter subtle distinctions. "He made the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the centre of his whole religious life, and the touchstone by which he tried all other doctrines and ecclesiastical usages." * * "When this truth is proclaimed out of the pure source of revelation—the Holy Scriptures—and made living in the soul, then—this he knew with entire certainty—all the errors and abuses that had crept into the Church must fall away of themselves, and the Church would become free from the bondage into which it had fallen." "He desired that man's freedom in matters of faith, and the freedom of Christians in indifferent matters, should be respected."* These statements by a Lutheran historian truthfully exhibit Luther's broad and liberal spirit, and show that the Lutheran Christianity, aimed at in the great Reformation which engaged all the energies of his mighty mind and heart, was not designed by him to be a narrow, separatistic organization, tied up, in the stringency of more than Romish dogmatism, in a *particular explanation* of one or two doctrines.

Even during Luther's life, controversies arose in the midst of the newly established Church. Soon after the adoption of the Augsburg Confession, in 1530, two tendencies appeared, which gradually separated more and more widely. The one tendency, more in harmony with the fundamental idea of the Reformation, was toward a liberal conception of Christianity, which would present a united Church, in its purified form. The other, was toward an extreme narrowness, which rigidly and sharply excluded freedom of judgment and private interpretation, in explanation of doctrine. Dr. J. H. Kurtz, of Dorpat, a strict and decided Lutheran, says: "The one party headed by Melancthon, *endeavored to widen the platform*, on which Catholics, on the one hand, and Reformed on the other, might stand, and thus effect an approximation to union and harmony. The other party, led by Amsdorf, Flacius, and Wigand, strove rather to define the pure Luther-

* *Gieseler*, Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., pp. 389—394.

an system with all possible strictness, so as to guard it against any admixture with Catholicizing or Calvinistic elements. *Luther attached himself to neither party, but endeavored to keep both from plunging into their respective extremes, and as far as possible to maintain peace between them.*"*

We have italicised the last sentence, because it presents the great fact to be remembered in this connection. While Melanchthon, it is admitted, in his extreme desire for peace and union, was in danger of going too far in conciliatory measures, and was, therefore, restrained by Luther, the fact to be marked is, that *Luther endeavored to keep the other party back from their extreme of narrowness and intolerance*—a narrowness which would destroy the true catholicity of the regenerated Church, and make Lutheranism but a contracted denominationalism. We are continually reminded by our intolerant Form of Concord Lutherans, of Luther's resistance of Melanchthon's tendency, but they fail to tell us how emphatically he resisted the contracted and separatistic Lutheranism of the other party, and sought to arrest the rising stream, flowing from dogmatic narrowness, into which, in these late days, they have launched the newly built barque of the General Council. As long as Luther lived—till 1546—he kept in check this tendency to deny the genuine Lutheranism of Melanchthon, or disturb their fellowship as co-laborers in a common cause. Gieseler declares, "At the end of 1534 and beginning of 1535, Melanchthon decidedly changed his views, holding firmly from this time on, that the internal reception of Christ and union with him is all that is essential in the Lord's Supper. Melanchthon's doctrinal views were widely diffused by his numerous hearers, and gained the majority of the academical teachers in Wittenberg. Luther was magnanimous enough to distinguish between what was essential in religious doctrines and their dogmatic form of statement; and thus the small body of his strictest adherents, at the head of whom was Nicholas von Amsdorf, never fully succeeded in making him mistrustful of his true helper."† "Melanch-

*See Hist. of Ch., Vol. II., p. 132.

†Church History, Vol., IV., p. 428.

thon remained in the position of Collocutor of the Wittenbergers, and was ever conscious of his essential agreement with Luther, which was also conceded by the latter, who always spoke with high veneration of his Philip." Dr. Dorner, whose high position in the Lutheran Church makes his testimony of great weight, says: "The increasing respect in which Melanchthon was held, from whom a very large school issued (J. Camerarius, Paul Eber, P. Crell, Peucer, Pezel, Cruciger, Pfeffinger, Major, Menius, &c.), had already in the last years of Luther begun to excite, by way of reaction, the formation of an opposite party, Agricola, Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Matthias, Flacius, Gallus, Judex, Wigand, and others, who, rallying more closely round Luther's name, opposed Melanchthon, and, *without Luther's spirit, labored to follow Luther's letter*. Whilst one of the noblest elements in Luther was the large-heartedness (which qualified him for the place of Reformer), and the humility with which he recognized the peculiar gifts of others, and above all of Melanchthon, it was the endeavor of these narrow-hearted friends to limit Luther to himself, to forget the need for being completed felt even by this perhaps the greatest post-apostolic individuality, and also—in which, however, they did not succeed—to make him forget it. They procured some separate expressions of dissatisfaction with Melanchthon, and, as has been observed, a keener defence, in his last years, of what was distinctively his own. Still, he did not break with Melanchthon, but held him dear and of worth in the bottom of his heart, nor did he cease to work personally together with him."*

Gieseler says: "As to the new edition of the Augsburg Confession in 1540, the so-called *Variata*, afterwards so much calumniated, *no one at that time thought of taking offence at it*."† He adds: "It was considered a revision, which made the Confession more plain, and was immediately used at the colloquy of Worms, 1541, without any heed being paid to Eck's exceptions on account of the alteration of the text, by the Elector or by Lu-

*Dorner's Hist. Prot. Theol., Vol I., pp. 340, 341.

†Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 432.

ther." "As long as Melanchthon lived, the *Variata* was universally used without objection, even by the most decided opponents of Melanchthon, as Westphal, and in the Weimar Confutation-book."* And though the extreme party afterwards looked upon the *Variata* as intolerable treachery to the true Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, there is abundant testimony that Luther himself did not so regard it. For, besides the declaration of Pencer, (Praef. in Ph. Mel. Opp. p. 1, 1562) that the *Variata* was written at the order and with the approval of Luther, Nic. Schpecker, an opponent of Melanchthon's views, and one of the authors of the *Form of Concord*, asserts, "*The later Augsburg Confession [the Variata] was acknowledged, after it was examined and approved by Luther, AS WITNESSES, STILL LIVING, AFFIRM.*" Quoted by Gieseler, Vol. IV., p. 433. Also, David Chrytans and Martin Chemnitz, both of whom were concerned in the preparation of the *Form of Concord*, "say, at least, that *it was brought forward at the Conference at Worms with the approbation of Luther.*"†

Let us not be misunderstood. We recall this temporary use of the *Variata*, and Luther's indulgent attitude toward it, with no inclination whatever toward the altered form. The General Synod has adopted the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*. It knows no other. But we wish to contrast the breadth and liberality of his views and feelings with the narrowness and intolerance of those who are now arrogating the exclusive right to his name. In both judgment and spirit, the difference is suggestive.

These historical facts, thus far, place several points beyond dispute:

First, that Luther did not at all regard Melanchthon's different view as destructive of, or even as inconsistent with, the genuineness of his Lutheranism, or as anything to exclude him from co-operation and fellowship in the Church and work of the Reformation. Luther cherished him in the most lov-

*Church Hist., Vol. IV., p. 433, note.

†Ib. p. 433.

ing confidence. Instead of denouncing him, and rejecting his co-operation, he valued it beyond all price; and when, soon after the publishing of the *Variata*, Melancthon was thought to be dying at Weimar, Luther hastened to his bedside, and "by the omnipotence of prayer, secured of God the prolongation of his life." He saw nothing in his views to disturb his relation to the Church, or lower his position and honor in it. In this way, and not in the un-Lutheran narrowness now insisted on by many, did "*her true members embrace and use the articles of faith and the sacraments when the Church came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name.*"

Secondly, that Luther *resisted* the aims and efforts of Amsdorf and other extremists, who, with a restricted and unworthy conception of Lutheran Christianity, labored to contract its Confession into a narrow party basis, and sectarianize the Church. "He endeavored," says Dr. J. H. Kurtz, "to keep them from plunging into their extremes." He did prevent the accomplishment of their purpose, as long as he lived. That purpose was utterly inconsistent with his view of the Church.

But the result of these controversies among the supporters of the Reformation, must be distinctly recalled. Luther died, Feb. 1546, nearly sixteen years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, which, according to Dr. Kurtz, marks the establishment of the Lutheran Church.* "On the death of Luther, Melancthon became the head and leader of the theologians of the Lutheran Church." The controversies, embracing a variety of subjects besides the Lord's Supper, became much more violent, and destroyed the Church's peace. In a season of deep despondency, Melancthon, after the disastrous result of the Smalcald War, was led to some excessive compliances, especially with the Catholics. This was the occasion of fresh attacks upon him. His opponents were now no longer restrained by Luther. Dr. Dorner, in connection with the statement already quoted, declares: "Those follow-

*Church History, Vol. II., p. 130.

ers of Luther, on the other hand, who had never been so united to him in friendship as Melanchthon was, and were still less of equal rank with those two men, deemed it, after Luther's death, to be their duty to play the part of Luther, but *sought to assert their Lutheran character chiefly by emphasizing without judgment the extremest points of the doctrine of Luther, as well as by combating what was peculiar to Melanchthon.*

* * They banded themselves more and more closely together into a party, whose common trait was principally only opposition to Melanchthon and his school, and to which, besides the above-named, men like Joachim Mörlin, Tileman Heshus, Westphal, and others, attached themselves. But the inseparable inward mutual connection between Luther and Melanchthon, in order to compass, in the way of reformation, the German people, was shown in particular in this, that all the chiefs of this policy, with their outbidding of Luther in the exclusion of every Melanchthonianism, ran to an extreme, which itself brought about their fall."* Though Dr. Dorner thinks that the Form of Concord kept what he calls "the sickly one-sidedness of these men a distance from the Lutheran type of doctrine," he admits that its completion did not bring "an entire rehabilitation of Melanchthon." Throughout the controversy, Amsdorf, Flacius, and the others of that party, sought, with slavish exactness, to make all Luther's personal and private doctrines of binding authority in the Church, and pursued Melanchthon and the moderate party with relentless hostility. Against his moderate views on the Lord's Supper, they took the extremest ground. Gieseler declares, "In the violence of the strife many zealots were brought to the outskirts of transubstantiation. Melanchthon contended unreservedly against the new excrescences."† In a declaration at the close of the religious conference at Worms (1557) he claimed that he and his friends were "true adherents of the Augsburg Confession."‡ This is great fact,

*Hist. Prot. Theol., Vol. I., pp. 341, 342.

†Hist. Ch., Vol. IV., p. 442.

‡Life of Melanchthon by Ledderhose, p. 305.

to be remembered. The history of those times exhibits a constant series of efforts to destroy every trace of his moderate teaching, and so to interpret and define the Church's Confession as to deny it all toleration. No wonder that he complained to Prince Joachim of Anhalt, "*I bear these calumnies with equanimity. I wrote the Confession and the Apology, which they constantly quote; and now they are debating how they shall get rid of their author.*" As long as Melancthon lived, the extreme party were unable to compass their wish; but after his death, in 1560, his friends were so broken and weakened by persecution and expulsion that a way of success seemed open. Then began the work of framing the FORM of CONCORD. In preparing it, on the basis of the Suabian-Saxon Concordia, every honorable and approving mention of Melancthon and his works, in that document, had to be expunged. Of the Convention at Bergen, 1577, which completed the work, Gieseler says: "*The stricter party here acquired such preponderance as to obliterate all those traces of the Melancthonian teaching, which had remained in the Lower Saxon parts of the Suabian-Saxon Concordia.*"* It was the hyper-Lutheran movement of that day, to define and organize Lutheranism on a narrower and more separatistic basis, than that of the true and catholic Lutheran Church of the days of Luther and Melancthon. The *communicatio idiomatum*, the *ubiquity of Christ's body*, and the ORAL reception of His body and blood in the Eucharist, which before had been but private opinions, were made confessional. But subscription to this Form of Concord was at once refused by many Lutheran countries and cities. Despite the ceaseless efforts of the stringent party, it has never been universally accepted. The movement, however, was so far successful, that it organized a narrow, intolerant, sectarian Lutheranism in the midst of the great Lutheran Church of revived Christianity. As illustrative of the contracted and intolerant spirit fostered in that separatistic movement, and apparently still cherished by

*Church History, Vol. IV., p. 486.

some among us, a single sentence from *Hase* will suffice: "*Kepler*, who, while listening to the harmonies of the universe, investigating the laws of planetary motions, that he might with devout joy make known to others the miracles of divine wisdom, and would rather starve than apostatize from the Confession of Augsburg, was driven from the Lord's fold as an unsound sheep, because he would not subscribe the articles in which the Calvinists were condemned, and doubted whether the body of Christ was truly omnipresent."*

These undeniable facts of history present some points in plain relief:

a. The theologians of the Form of Concord established for themselves and those who could accept their work, a narrower Church basis than that established in the Augsburg Confession. Its very design was to tighten the definitions, so as to exclude shades of view and explanations of doctrine which Luther and the Augsburg Confession had left to the freedom of private judgment. It exhibits the fruit of a tendency which Luther nobly and firmly resisted. It does what Luther would never have done. Its aim has been, to shut out those whom he wished to keep in. While we may freely accept it as true, that, under the pressure of the strict party, Luther did admonish Melancthon, that the Augsburg Confession was no longer his own, and subject to his changes, but the Confession of the entire Church, it is equally and undeniably true, that he utterly and steadfastly, as long as he lived, refused to allow the Church to take the narrow and intolerant position afterwards carried out in the Form of Concord. It was not his ideal of the regenerated and purified Church, to which the reformation-work was laboring on—this so-called Lutheranism, shorn, by partisan dogmatism, of the character of universal Christianity. While holding to the Augsburg Confession un mutilated, he insisted that the Church's interpretation of it should be free and broad enough to hold Melancthon as well as Melancthon's opponents, and himself. This is the grand feature of primitive

*Church History, p. 411.

Lutheranism, from which the Form of Concord departed. And though, from the fact of the failure of the new creed to secure anything like a universal acceptance, it did not destroy the pure catholicity of Lutheran Christianity, it, nevertheless, organized within it, on a sectarian basis, a "*particularity of Lutheranism*" that is inconsistent with the general spirit of the Church.

b. The Form of Concord presents a *post-Reformation* conception of the Church. It does not belong to the true Reformation period. Its symbolic authority cannot be essential to the existence or character of the Lutheran Church, which came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name nearly half a century before this Formula was framed. It does not present the genuine Reformation Church of Luther and Melancthon, but a later, post-Reformation mould by Andrea, Chemnitz, and Schneeker. Subscription to it formed no part of original Lutheranism.

c. An organization, tied up in complete and "unchangeable" subjection to the Form of Concord, is founded on a post-Reformation, and, to some extent, un-Lutheran sectarian separatism, and is not a true representative of catholic Lutheranism. It is in historical continuity with a party, which, after the Reformation, expunged from their new Formula the mild views of the author of the Augsburg Confession, and flung an insult on the spirit and memory of Luther, in repudiating his most renowned and cherished co-laborer. Its so-called Lutheranism is not the pure and historic Lutheranism, of the mould and spirit of the Church, when it "came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name," but identified with a partisan narrowness, whose incipency Luther disowned, and with an extreme Symbolism that was compacted more than thirty years after the great Reformer had gone to his grave. Can the presumption of these partisans, in their exclusive claim to the name of Lutheran, be surpassed? With what right can they make his name stand only for an ecclesiastical position and spirit, that did not at all belong to him?

d. The *General Synod*, on the basis of the *Augsburg Confes-*

sion, is a true representative of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation period. It presents the genuine, historic, regenerated Christianity as confessed in the Church of Luther and Melancthon. It has the first and highest right to the name.

3. Other facts might be adduced which would grandly vindicate our position, and rebuke the assumption that affects to doubt the General Synod's right to the Lutheran name. The annals of our Church are full of the names of men, illustrious for learning and usefulness, who are proudly recognized as Lutherans, though not examples of the rigid symbolism that binds to all the definitions of the Form of Concord. Our best authorities do not claim that such subscription is necessary. We could quote from Walch, declaring against a too rigid enforcement of symbolic decisions in "what is not fundamental,"* or Müller, asserting that "the Church does not wish to ascribe to her Symbols immutable authority," or from Buddeus, cautioning lest, "in demanding the adherence of others to these formulas, we sin by too great rigor, especially on points not belonging to the foundations of faith,"† or from Mosheim, speaking of the Symbols of the Church, "To these, very many add the Formula of Concord: which, however, some do not receive; yet without any interruption of harmony."‡ We could quote from Dr. C. P. Krauth, in his earlier and better days, asserting the excellence of the General Synod's doctrinal position in multiform arguments and phrase; and from Dr. Seiss, declaring, again and again, that one aspect of the glory of the great Lutheran Church, is her "catholicity and liberality," that she "binds no man unconditionally to minute details of doctrine or unalterable forms of worship," that "it does not lie in the genius of our Church to enforce her utterances in all their details," that she "presents a doctrinal, liturgical, and governmental basis, on which all might harmonize without violence to their consciences, and which leaves no possible excuse for sectarianism"—a testimony beautifully true of moderate, Augsburg Confession

*Int. in Lib. Sym. p. 960.

†Isagoge, p. 534.

‡Ecl. Hist., Vol. III., p. 129.

Lutheranism, but not of that of the Form of Concord. But it will be enough to present, as the latest statement on the subject, the decisive language of Dr. Dorner, who himself seems fully to accept the Form of Concord: "The Form of Concord was not adopted *in a large part of the lands of the Lutheran confession*, as in Denmark, Holstein, Pomerania, Anhalt, Hesse, the Palatinate of Zweibrücken (Deuxponts), Brunswick, Nuremberg, &c. *Yet those who did not adopt it could not be deprived of the character of Lutheran, seeing that they maintained their greater freedom upon the basis of the earlier Confessions.*"*

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Besides the publication of a large number of holiday books, there has been a good deal of literary activity during the quarter, and many excellent works have appeared.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL. Among the most noticeable works of this class, are Vol. I. of the *Speaker's Commentary*, which includes the entire Pentateuch, noticed elsewhere in this No.; *The Bremen Lectures on Fundamental, Living, Religious Questions*, by various eminent German clergymen of high reputation, translated by Rev. D. Heagle, also noticed; *The Theology of the New Testament*, Translated by Dr. G. E. Day, of Yale, from the Dutch of J. J. Van Oosterzee; *Seed Truths*, a series of short Essays, on salient points of Scripture teaching, by Rev. Dr. Pharellus Church; a second edition of the *Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament*, by Chas. F. Hudson; *The Resurrection of the Redeemer, and Hades*, by Rev. James Boggs; *The History of our English Bible, and its Seven Ancestors*, by Rev Treadwell Walden; a second series of *Misread Passages of Scripture*, by J. Baldwin Brown, B. A., reprinted by Carlton & Lanahan from an English work; *The Bible a Miracle, or the Word of God its own Witness*, showing the supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures, from their literary, theological and moral excellence, by Rev. David Macdill; *The Pulpit in Relation to Social Life, or Christus Consolator*, by Dr. Alex. Macleod; *Religious Philosophy*, the substance of four Lectures before the Lowell Institute, by Alonzo Potter, LL. D.

*Hist. Prot. Theol., Vol. I., p. 383.

"*The Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, by Ezra Abbott, originally published as an Appendix to the "History of the Doctrine of a Future Life," by Rev. W. R. Alger, and forming a Catalogue of Works relating to the Nature, Origin, and Destiny of the soul, the titles being classified and chronologically arranged, has been published as a separate volume, by W. J. Middleton.

Pott, Young & Co. have published *The Mighty Works of our Lord Jesus Christ*, made up of scenes in the life of Christ, illustrated by the pens of St. Augustine, and Chrysostom, Bishop Heber, Keble, Alford, Trench, &c., and photographic copies of paintings by Raffaele, Rembrandt, &c.

In *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, Mr. R. W. Dale exhibits the resemblances and the contrasts between the Hebrew and the Christian dispensations, (Gould & Lincoln).

Modern Skepticism, a course of Lectures delivered at the request of the Christian Evidence Society of London, has been republished in this country by Randolph & Co.

Dr. Dörner's Great work, *The History of Protestant Theology*, two vols., published, in translation, by the Clarks of Edinburgh, is imported; also, *The Training of the Twelve*, or Passages out of the Gospels exhibiting the twelve disciples of Jesus under Discipline for the Apostleship, by Rev. A. Balmain Bruce.

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL. *Land and Water*, another volume of Jacob Abbott's "Science for the Young;" *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*, by Dr. Noah Porter, President of Yale College, an account of which is given in our Book Notices; a new edition by Porter & Coates, of *Wilson's American Ornithology*, complete in three vols.; Duchenne's *Localized Electrization*, Translated by Herbert Tibbits, M. D.; another volume of Scribner's *Illustrated Library of Wonders*, entitled *Mountain Adventures*; a new book by Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Religion*; *The Science of Nature versus the Science of Man*, by President Porter, a review of the arguments of Huxley, Spencer, and others; *Coral and Coral Islands*, by Jas. D. Dana, Professor of Geology at Yale, a popular work highly illustrated; *On Intelligence*, by Henri Taine; a second edition of Mivart's *On the Genesis of Species*, revised, with Notes and Reply to Darwin.

The most marked book of the season, in this department, is the first volume of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy, from Thales to the present Time*, translated by G. S. Morris, with additions by President Porter, as Vol. I. of Scribner's proposed "Philosophical and Theological Library."

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL. A large share of the issues of the quarter have been of this class, among which we note the first volume of *Tyerman's Life and Times of John Wesley*; *The Rise and Fall of the Paris Commune*, with a full account of the bombardment, capture, and burning, of the city, by W. Pembroke Pettridge; a new and comprehensive *History of England*, by B. J. Lossing; the first volume of the translation

of Lanfrey's *History of Napoleon the First*; the great work of Count de Montelembert, *The Monks of the West*; a *History of the Working and Burgher Classes*, translated from the French of Granier de Cassagnac, published by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger; *The Student's History of the East*, by Philip Smith, a volume of the "*Student's Series*;" *Gustavus Adolphus*, a memoir translated from the French of L. Abelous; *A Comparative History of Religions*, by Dr. James C. Moffat, Professor of Church History in Princeton Seminary; *Mary, Queen of Scots, and her latest English Historian*, by Col. Jas. F. Meline, in which the author subjects Mr. Froude's account to the severest criticism; *The life of J. J. Crittenden*, in two volumes; Vol. I. of *Taine's History of English Literature*.

MISCELLANEOUS.—A second series of Mr. Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; *English Literature*, considered as the Interpreter of English History, by Henry Coppée, LL. D.; an American Edition by Chas. Scribner & Co. of the great work, Jowett's *Plato*; *English Lessons for English People*, a Book of principles and rules for correct writing, by Prof. Seeley and Mr. Francis Abbott; *Americanisms*, or the English of the New World, a book of much value, by Schele De Vere, LL. D.; the first vol. of Scribner's proposed Illustrated Library of Travel, Exploration and Adventure, *Japan in Our Day*, compiled by Bayard Taylor.

GERMAN.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—F. R. Grass is the author of a new work on the introduction to the study of the New Testament, entitled, "History of the development of the writings of the New Testament." The work is to consist of three volumes. The first volume, of three hundred and fifty pages, has appeared, treating of the first three Gospels, and the other volumes are in press.

Of Hengstenberg's "History of the Kingdom of God under the old Covenant," the second part has been published, four hundred and sixteen pages, embracing the period from Moses to Christ.

The literature of the pulpit has been enriched by another volume of sermons by Dr. F. S. Steinmeyer, University Preacher and Professor in Berlin. These sermons, which are intended chiefly for the educated, give a rich exegesis of the texts, and a deep insight into the doctrines of the gospel and the human heart.

Many sermons have also been published which were occasioned by the late Franco-Prussian war.

Dr. Karl Hase's work, "The Compend of Protestant Polemics against the Roman Catholic Church," over six hundred pages, has appeared in a third improved edition. The late Council is still discussed freely in books and pamphlets, from historical, dogmatical, and political points of view.

The first part of Dr. A. F. C. Vilmar's *Ethics* has been published, under the editorship of C. C. Israel, one of his former students. Dr. V., who was Professor of Theology in Marburg, died in 1868. He is best

known through his "History of German Literature." His "Ethik" is made up of lectures, delivered in the University of Marburg. The divisions of the work are: Sin, Regeneration, Sanctification, or "the history of the disease, of the cure, and of the health of the inner man." He divides sin into three classes, according to 1 John 2: 16. His peculiar explanation of avarice is given in this sentence: "Man's desire for gold has its origin in the deep relationship of the human body to the dust of the earth, from which it was formed."

The numerous works on Luther and his writings, that have recently appeared, indicate the great interest taken in the Reformer. The fact that a work on Luther's Philosophy is in course of preparation, of which the "Ethik" has already been published, was stated in the last number of this REVIEW. Now we chronicle the fact that Ph. Dietz, of Marburg, is preparing a complete Dictionary of Luther's German works. The aim of the author is, "to give all the words used by Luther in his German works, including his translation of the Bible, and to illustrate their forms and significations by carefully selected quotations." This attempt is new, and necessarily requires much labor. An idea of the magnitude of the work may be formed from the fact that the first volume, published in Leipzig, contains over eight hundred and fifty pages, including the words from A—F.

Of the biographical works which have lately appeared in Germany, that on John Reuchlin, by Dr. L. Geiger, is of special interest to the theologian. He was born 1455, and died 1522. Though it was through his recommendation that his kinsman Melancthon was made Professor at Wittenberg, he had no sympathy with the Reformation. He was a jurist, and also a historian; but it is chiefly as a philologist that he is known to posterity. What he did for the revival of the study of the dead languages, especially the Hebrew, aided materially, though unintentionally, the work of the Reformation. His biographer lays special stress on his influence on the study of the Greek and Hebrew.

"Gustave Koenig—his Life and his Art," by Dr. Aug. Ebrard, is not a theological work, but it is of interest to the theologian. Koenig, in studying the writings of Luther for the purpose of being able to illustrate the life of the great Reformer in pictures, "discovered a new world, for in these writings he learned for the first time what Christianity is—that it is the redemption of a world lost in sin." He died 1869, aged sixty-one years. Besides illustrating the life and hymns of Luther in pictures, and also Scripture characters and scenes, he aided in making the design of the Luther Monument at Worms.

THE GERMAN QUARTERLIES.

Zeitschrift fuer die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche. No. 4. 1871. While only thirty-six pages are devoted to articles, one hundred and forty-six are devoted to the review of books. Its chief value consists in its reviews, which are prepared with great care.

The first article is on "Arabic translations of the Book of Job," by Von Bandissin, Ph. D.

The second article is by H. Müller, Ph. D., on "Grammatical Studies with a view to the Exegesis of the New Testament."

The third article is by A. Kolbe, on "The Future of the Lutheran Church in the new German Empire. With special reference to Zoeckler's explanation of the Augustana."

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. No. 4. 1871.

Schlottmann: "The Moabite King Mesa."

Beyschlag: "The Disputed Question about the Opponents of Paul in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians."

Besides these essays, there are four short articles under the head of "Abhandlungen." One is by *Schraeder*, on the Assyrian "Verwaltungsliste;" the second by *Oppert*: "Salmanassar and Sargon;" the third by *Vaihinger*: "On the Sustenance of the Israelites in the Wilderness;" the last by *Müller*: "Juan Valdés again."

Vaihinger estimates the number of Israelites in the wilderness, and others that accompanied them, at from two to three millions. This estimate is based on the fact that, according to Ex. 12 : 37, there were six hundred thousand men, besides women and children. Even if the land was a hundred times more fruitful than it is now, this multitude could not have obtained food in the natural way. This fact has led many to deny the account of the journey through the wilderness. But V. accepts the account, and defends the miraculous feeding of the multitudes by means of manna, which was not a product of the trees, but was provided by God for his people in a miraculous way.

Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie.

The first article is on "*The Doctrine of the Lutheran Confessions concerning the Church, the Ministry, and Church Government*," by Dr. Koehler. According to the Romish doctrine, the Church is a visible institution, an external organization, whose sign is the continuity of the external hierarchical order instituted by Christ, and the evidence that one belongs to the Church, is found in his subjection to this hierarchical order. But the view adopted by the reformers is this, that the Church is not a communion of external things, such as ceremonies and traditions, but that it is a communion of the inner life, of faith, of love, of hope. According to the Lutheran Confessions, the Church is the communion of all believers; and the marks by which the Church is known are, the pure preaching of the gospel and the right administration of the sacraments. Persons are brought into this communion by the Holy Spirit, by being united in one Head, Jesus Christ, through whom they are reconciled with the Father. The very definition of the Church includes the idea of the universal priesthood of Christians; and it follows necessarily that, instead

of a hierarchy, the appointment of the ministry and the government of the Church belong to the congregation.

The second article is by Dr. L. Schöberlein, Professor in Göttingen, on "*The Union of the Divine and Human in Jesus Christ.*" Of this article, so rich in the deepest truths of the gospel, the following is the close: "The God-man is the personal life-centre of the kingdom of God, in which his love diffuses its entire fulness and glory. From Him emanates all love which in this kingdom unites God with His creatures, and them with Him, and the creatures with one another; from Him proceed the influences of the Spirit, which regenerate the world spiritually, which lead it into the perfect harmony of life, and perfect it by internal and external transfiguration; and from Him flows a divine life to make it divine. In Him eternity and time have been made one, and time has been taken up into eternity; in Him heaven came down to earth, and the earth has been elevated to heaven; He is the 'Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty,' to whom belong the kingdoms of this world, and who shall reign for ever and ever."

The third article is on "*Galicanism and the new Dogma of Infallibility,*" by Prof. Dr. J. A. Dorner, of Berlin.

The fourth article, by the same, is a tribute to the memory of Dr. Liebner, one of the founders and editors of this journal, who died the 24th of June, 1871. For many years Dr. Dorner was a warm friend of Liebner, and both were very active in the conduct of the *Jahrbücher*. Liebner occupied various important positions, and was a man of much influence, which was used in the cause of evangelical truth. He was born in 1806. After preaching for several years in Kreisfeld, near Eisleben, he was called to Göttingen to be University Preacher and Professor of Practical Theology, in 1835. Afterwards he accepted a call to the University of Marburg, then to Kiel, as successor of Dorner, then to Leipzig, in 1851. After spending twenty years as Professor in these different Universities, he went, in 1855, to Dresden, to be the successor of Harless, as Chief Court-Preacher and Vice-President of the Consistory, which position he occupied till his death. Besides several volumes of sermons, and numerous articles in the "*Jahrbücher*," and the "*Studien und Kritiken*," and various books of a theological and practical character, he published a work on Dogmatics, which is the most celebrated of his writings. Dorner says, that the cardinal question with Liebner in his theological and practical works, and in his sermons, was, "What think ye of Christ?" The loss of such men at this time is keenly felt by the earnest evangelical Christians of Germany.

Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche, (monthly). In the October number there is, among other articles, one on the relation of Darwinism to religion and morality. In the November number there is an interesting article on the conversion of the brothers Reinhold and Hermann Baumstark to Romanism. The former is a jurist in Constance, and

was formerly a skeptic; the other was a Professor of the Missouri Synod in St. Louis. Both entered the Romish Church in 1869. The article is a review of a book, written by the brothers, entitled, "Our Ways to the Catholic Church."
J. H. W. S.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

LUTHERAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

42 N. 9th St. Philadelphia. For sale by A. D. Buehler.

Faithful Unto Death. From the German of Gustave Nieritz, by M. A. Manderson. 16mo. pp. 287.

The Hop Blossoms. From the German of Christoph von Schmid, by J. Fred. Smith.

These are the latest volumes of the "Fatherland Series," and are well worthy of a place in that excellent collection. The former is a story of Swedish life in the times of Charles XII. Its scenes and characters are formed in the striking and dramatic movements of that troubled period. It abounds in wholesome instruction and religious lessons to young and old. The latter is a graceful story of Providential recompence to duty and honesty, teaching, impressively, lessons of uprightness, industry, frugality, and trust in God. We renew our hearty recommendation of this "Fatherland Series."

Luther at Home, by T. Stork, D. D. pp. 148.

The six delightful sketches of Luther's domestic life, forming this little volume, are already well known in the Church. We are glad to state that the Board of Publication has issued a new and revised edition in most excellent style.

SCRIBNER & CO., NEW YORK.

The Bible Commentary, or Speaker's Bible. The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611). with an explanatory and critical Commentary, and a revision of the translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. I. Part I. Genesis—Exodus: Part II. Leviticus—Deuteronomy. pp. 928. 1871

The idea of this Commentary originated with the Right Hon. J. Evelyn Denison, Speaker of the House of Commons, who, after mentioning the project to several prelates and theologians, consulted the Archbishop of

York, and secured his agency in forming a company of divines to carry it into execution. The labor of preparing a Commentary on the Bible was distributed among a considerable number, assigning to "each the portion of Scripture for which his studies might best have fitted him."

The Rev. F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter, and Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, was chosen Editor, and the work divided into eight sections, of which the volume before us, containing the Pentateuch, is the first instalment. Each separate book has its own special commentator. The General Introduction and Commentary on Genesis, are by E. Harold Browne, D.D., Bishop of Ely; Exodus by the Editor, Rev. F. C. Cook, and Rev. Samuel Clark, Vicar of Bredwardine; Leviticus by Rev. Samuel Clark; Numbers by Rev. T. E. Espin, B. D., Rector of Wallasey, and Rev. J. F. Thrupp, late Vicar of Barrington; and Deuteronomy by Rev. T. E. Espin, B. D. The other sections are intrusted to able and distinguished scholars, and the results of their labors will be looked for with great interest and high expectations.

The plan of the work is simple, and in accordance with the design of the originator, who, we are told, felt the "want of some Commentary upon the Sacred Books, in which the latest information might be made accessible to men of ordinary culture," and "in which every educated man might find an explanation of any new difficulties which his own mind might suggest, as well as of any new objections raised against a particular book or passage." The text is a reprint of the Authorized Version, from the edition of 1611, with the marginal references and renderings. Amended translations are given in the Notes in distinctive, darker type. The Notes are generally brief and to the point, explaining the text, and furnishing the most valuable aid to grasp its meaning and proper application. There is very little here that is superfluous, nothing to swell a volume. The more difficult subjects are treated in the Introductions and in special Dissertations appended to each Chapter or Book. These Introductions and special Dissertations evince ripe scholarship, and a readiness to grapple with the most difficult questions started by physical, philological and historical investigations in connection with this part of the sacred record. The whole tenor of these discussions is reverent, and calculated to strengthen our confidence in the divine word, whilst its true meaning is unfolded. It would be difficult to find so much really valuable material within the same compass.

Whilst the volume is sent forth with a becoming expression of a "deep sense of its imperfections," we are mistaken if it does not, to a great extent, supersede former commentaries in English on this part of the Bible. Both for the learned and the unlearned, it possesses great value. If the other portions are executed with the same judgment, combining learning, discrimination, and piety, the *Bible Commentary* must take rank among the most successful attempts to lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the Word of God.

Did our limits permit, we would furnish some illustrations of brief and

comprehensive comments, and also of the treatment of Geological, Chronological, Historical, Ethnological and other questions. But we must content ourselves with a very cordial endorsement of the volume, as a whole, without noticing particular parts, and confidently commending it to all who are interested in the study of these most ancient writings of the inspired historian, prophet, and lawgiver.

Systematic Theology, By Charles Hodge, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey,. Vol. I. pp. 648. 1872.

This is the first volume of what may be reasonably expected to be the greatest theological work yet produced in this country, and among the greatest in the English language. The author has been Professor for nearly fifty years in one of the oldest and best known Theological Seminaries in the United States, and has helped to train more ministers than any other American divine. His lectures have been thus more widely known and felt than those of any other theological Professor in our land. His profound learning, broad, comprehensive views, sterling good sense, clear and vigorous presentation of truth, have won for him a distinguished reputation at home and abroad. As Editor of the *Princeton Review*, and author of various commentaries, besides other publications, he is well known to the theological world.

Dr. Hodge's reputation, as a theologian, will rest largely upon this, his magnum opus. The Reviewer and Commentator will be eclipsed in the Theologian. It is premature to pronounce upon the work as a whole, which is to consist of three large volumes, while as yet we have only the first volume. The public, however, know pretty well what to anticipate. His views have impressed themselves upon the thinking of the age. So prominent a place has the teaching of the Seminary, in which he has so long labored, acquired, that it has been common to speak of Princeton Theology, and of which Dr. Hodge's work is to be the great exposition.

The reader may form some idea of the extensive field covered by this volume from a brief summary of the contents. INTRODUCTION, containing six chapters on Method, Theology, Rationalism, Mysticism, Roman Catholic Doctrine concerning the Rule of Faith, The Protestant Rule of Faith. PART I. THEOLOGY PROPER, containing thirteen chapters on Origin of the idea of God, Theism, Anti-theistic Theories, Knowledge of God, The Nature and Attributes of God, The Trinity, The Divinity of Christ, The Holy Spirit, The Decrees of God, Creation, Providence, Miracles, Angels.

The discussion of most of these topics is very full and satisfactory. Some of the discussions, indeed, seem to us disproportionately long for such a work. This is the case especially with *Mysticism* and *Anti-theistic Theories*, occupying together more than one-fifth of the volume. But Dr. Hodge has made thorough work, and his refutations of false systems and theories, are very complete. He has pursued Materialism through its various changes, and shown that it utterly fails to satisfy the demands of

a sound philosophy. The most recent phases of Materialism are subjected to a candid examination, and the emptiness of many pretensions clearly shown. The chapters on the Roman Catholic Doctrine concerning the Rule of Faith, and the Knowledge of God, besides being able, are timely, and will meet a want in these departments of investigation.

This volume combines, to a considerable extent, History and Doctrine, so that we have, along with the subjects discussed, a tolerably full history of the leading topics. If this feature should be continued in the succeeding volumes, it will tend to make the work more complete, but will interfere with its use as a simple text book of Systematic Theology.

Very little will be found in this volume to which any orthodox Christian or theologian will object. The chapter on the Decrees of God is brief and general. It contains some principles to which we would not like to yield our assent, and the conclusions from which might be still more objectionable. Still Dr. Hodge has here displayed his usual good sense. He has not unduly magnified what is usually regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Reformed or Calvinistic Theology. On this vexed question more may be expected in the coming volumes, but if the author maintains the same moderation, he will do something towards removing the harsher features of the School of Theology to which he belongs.

Dr. Hodge's style is a model for theological discussion. It is characterized by great simplicity, clearness, and directness. There is no attempt at fine writing. The mind is not diverted from the subject by the style. The words are such as a man would employ, who had full confidence in the truth of what he uttered, and who felt that he needed no strained expressions, or artificial aids, to help his cause. Language here performs its legitimate office, and Theology appears in its appropriate garb.

Overlooking some minor points in the plan and execution of this volume, we hail its appearance as a substantial contribution to the great fundamental truths of our common Protestant Theology, as over against various false systems of theology and philosophy. The careful study of it cannot but do good. We shall anticipate the coming volumes with great interest.

The Elements of Intellectual Science. A Manual for Schools and Colleges. Abridged from "The Human Intellect." By Noah Porter, D. D. LL. D. pp. 563.

The distinguished merits of Dr. Porter's great work—"The Human Intellect"—are too well known and recognized to require any commendation at our hands. This abridgment, by the author, for the use of schools and colleges, brings the volume within the ordinary compass of a text-book, and will reach a much larger circle of readers and students. In comprehensiveness of range and thoroughly scientific character, it is greatly in advance of the ordinary text-books in use. Students will find that it will require vigorous mental exercise to master the contents of this compact treatise. But it will well repay the labor.

FROM ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK,

Through Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia.

Nature's Wonders. By the Rev. Richard Newton, D. D. pp. 335.

Designed to show the wisdom and goodness of God, as, they appear in the works of nature, and adapted to the young, this is one of the very best of books to put into the hands of children. It deals not in fiction, but from the great volume of God's handiwork above and around us, instructs both head and heart.

The House in Town. A Sequel to "Opportunities;" by the author of the "Wide, Wide World." pp. 424.

"Opportunities," to which this is "a sequel," was one of the most popular juvenile books. This volume will prove equally so.

Jessie's Parrot, by Joanna H. Mathews, author of the Bessie Books, and the "Flowerets." pp. 245.

Little Norris' Enemy, by the same. pp. 240.

These are two interesting volumes of the "Little Sunbeam" series, with impressive and wholesome lessons.

The Rift in the Clouds, by the author of "Memorials of Capt. Hedley Vicar." pp. 106.

French Bessie, by P. E. S., author of "Tibby the Charwoman," etc., etc. pp. 180.

The most charming and instructive volumes of the "Fireside Library." *Shall we Know One Another?* and other Papers, by the Rev. J. C. Ryle, M. A. Third Edition. pp. 144.

A very little book, full of the rich Scripture truth that always appears from the pen of the well known author.

Stories of Vinegar Hill.

These are six small volumes, neatly put up in a paper case. They are by the author of "Little Jack's Four Lessons," "Sunday all the Week," etc. The titles are "The Old Church Door, The Fowls of the Air, Golden Thorns, Plants without Root, An Hundredfold, and Spring Work." The young will find them entertaining, and their influence will be good.

Grandfather's Faith, By Julia Mathews, Author of the "Golden Ladder Series."

This is the first of the "Dare To Do Right Series"—a very stirring story of the power of faith, witnessing a wayward boy recovered by divine grace and becoming a useful and honored Christian. It will encourage parents, as well as interest boys, to read it.

WARREN F. DRAPER, ANDOVER.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. By J. B. Lightfoot, D. D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. pp. 396.

This is a most valuable Commentary. The revised text is up to the

very latest and best critical scholarship. The exegetical, though tolerably extended, constitutes the smaller part of the volume. It is especially full and satisfactory on most of the leading topics connected with the epistle. In the Introduction and Dissertations are discussed, "The Galatian People, The Churches of Galatia, The Date of the Epistle, The Genuineness of the Epistle, Character and Contents of the Epistle; Were the Galatians Celts or Teutons, The Brethren of the Lord, St. Paul and the Three." The appended Notes treat of other points contained in the Epistle. Less minutely grammatical and exegetical than Ellicott, it is more readable than the work of that critical commentator. It does not pretend to dwell upon the great doctrine of the Epistle, which has made Luther's Commentary on Galatians immortal. Whilst it cannot supplant Luther or Ellicott, we know of no single work that puts the scholar in so fair a position to comprehend the meaning of this Epistle, as does this work of Dr. Lightfoot.

Diatessaron. The Life of our Lord, in the Words of the Gospels. By Frederick Gardiner, D. D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, Author of a Harmony of the Gospels in Greek, etc. pp. 259.

This is a Life of our Lord in the words of the inspired writers—the narratives of the four evangelists woven into one continuous history. The chronological arrangement is that adopted by the author in his Greek Harmony.

DODD & MEAD, 762 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The Old Back Room. By Jennie Harrison. pp. 392.

A touching story, designed to teach the young how to escape the dangers in the voyage of life and reach at last a safe and quiet haven. Jesus is pointed out as the only sure guide.

August and Elvie. By Jacob Abbot. pp. 338.

The first of a Series called "August Stories." This volume is not strictly religious, but combines instruction and entertainment with moral lessons. A volume for the young by Abbott scarcely needs endorsement or recommendation. Both these volumes may be had from our enterprising friend, E. S. German, Bookseller, Harrisburg, Pa.

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.

Lectures on the Epistle of James, By the Rev. Robert Johnstone, LL. B. Arbroath. pp. 433.

This volume consists of a new translation of the Epistle. Notes on the Greek Text, Introduction, Supplementary Note on 'the Brethren of the Lord,' and thirty-one Lectures or Discourses. The author is a devout student of the divine word, and has given us a valuable volume on this too much neglected Epistle of James. Whilst the bulk of the volume is practical, and for the unlearned, it may be studied with profit by all. For sale also by E. S. German, Harrisburg, Pa.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PHILADELPHIA.

A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament. Prepared by Chas. F. Hudson, under the direction of Horace Hastings, Editor of *The Christian*. Revised and completed by Ezra Abbott, LL.D., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Second Edition—Revised.

Biblical scholars have, for some time, been familiar with the "Englishman's Greek Concordance." But its size and expense made a smaller volume desirable. This is given in this work. It has been prepared on the basis of the larger work, but it simply refers to the Scripture texts instead of quoting them in full. Under each Greek word, the student is referred to all the passages in the New Testament where it occurs, according to its different renderings. There is incorporated into it the various emended readings as given in the valuable critical editions by Griesbach, Lachman, Tischendorf, and Tragelless.

This volume has deservedly received the highest commendations of the critical press. The first edition appeared last year, and this is already the second. It is a book of scholarly excellence and great value. Every minister and biblical student should have one on his study table, for constant reference.

GOULD & LINCOLN, BOSTON.

The Bremen Lectures, on Fundamental living, religious Questions. By various eminent European Divines. Translated from the original German, by Rev. D. Heagle. With an Introduction by Alvah Hovey, D.D., President of Newton Theological Institution. pp. 308.

These Lectures were delivered in Bremen, Germany, in the early part of 1869, under the auspices of the Board of Internal Missions. Their object was to vindicate the old, fundamental truths of the Christian faith against the latest forms of scientific skepticism. The topics were selected and arranged by the Board with a view to orderly progression and unity. Dr. Otto Zöckler, of Griefswald, discusses "The Biblical Account of Creation and Natural Science;" Rev. Hermann Cremer, "Reason, Conscience, and Revelation;" Rev. M. Fuchs, "Miracles;" Dr. E. Luthardt, "The Person of Christ;" Dr. Uhlhorn, "The Resurrection of Christ, as a Soteriological Fact;" Dr. Gess, "The Scripture Doctrine of Atonement," Dr. Tischendorf, "The Authenticity of our Gospels;" Dr. Lange, "The Idea of the Kingdom of God as perfected, and its significance for Historical Christianity," and Rev. J. Disseldorf, "Christianity and Culture." This rich range of topics is discussed with the ability and force worthy of the eminent authors. The lecturers were at home in their subjects. Though the discussions are necessarily restricted in length, their brevity is more than compensated for in the richness that attends condensation and directness. The volume is one of those books on the living questions of the day, that the minister of the Gospel cannot afford to do without.

Lectures on Satan, by Rev. Thaddeus McRae, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, McVeightown, Pa. pp. 173.

These Lectures, primarily prepared for the instruction of the people of his pastoral charge, and now given to the public, are meant to furnish a calm statement of the Scripture teaching as to the existence, personality, power, &c., of Satan. The subject is one of real importance, involving speculative and practical questions of the gravest moment. Mr. McRae discusses its various aspects in a truth-loving spirit, and with true submission to the disclosures of the divine word. He writes with clearness and vigor, correcting erroneous notions, and meeting the manifold forms of objection that skepticism urges against the doctrine of revelation on the subject. We know of no other volume embracing so complete a discussion of the topic.

D. APPLETON & CO., NEW YORK.

Metaphysics; or the Philosophy of Consciousness, Phenomenal and Real.

By Henry Longueville Mansel, B. D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, Honorary LL. D. of the University of Edinburgh.

Dr. Mansel's "Prolegomena Logica," and "Limits of Religious Thought," have established his reputation as one of the most vigorous thinkers and writers of this century. He stands among the foremost recent authors in the metaphysical world. This volume is a re-publication, with only a few verbal corrections, of the elaborate article "*Metaphysics*," prepared by him for the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We are glad of its appearance in this separate form, as it makes it accessible to many who otherwise could not possess it.

Dr. Mansel defines Metaphysics, as "the Philosophy of the facts of Consciousness, considered subjectively in relation to the mind knowing, and objectively in relation to the thing known." He treats the entire subject under the heads of "*Psychology*, or the science of the facts of consciousness as such; and *Ontology*, or the science of the same facts considered in their relation to realities existing without the mind." In its fundamental character, his metaphysical system agrees with Sir William Hamilton's. In formal statement, however, it is different, and shows a stronger tendency to Kantian subjectivism. The book is one to be studied by all who wish to keep up with the progress of speculative thought.

Light Science for Leisure Hours, A series of Familiar Essays, on Scientific Subjects, Natural Phenomena, etc. By Richard A. Proctor, B. A., Camb., F. R. A. S., Author of "The Sun," "Other Worlds than Ours," "Saturn," etc. pp. 343.

The Essays in this volume have been selected, by the author, from his contributions to serial literature during the past three or four years. There are thirty-two of them, of varied length, mostly on topics of present scientific interest. Some of the principal papers are on "The Aurora,"

"The Earth, a Magnet," "Our Chief Timepiece losing Time," "Venus on the Sun's Face," "Recent Solar Researches," "The Secret of the North Pole," "Is the Gulf Stream a Myth?" &c. They are fine illustrations of the way in which scientific information—made, in our day, so great and wonderful—is given to the people in general. Dropping the technicalities of science, the results are presented and explained "in readable form." The high scientific ability and reputation of Mr. Proctor, are a guarantee of the worth of these papers. In addition to their other merits, they are always in beautiful harmony with Christian truth. The book is one that we most cordially recommend. It ought to have a wide circulation.

HOLT & WILLIAMS, NEW YORK.

Poems and Ballads of Goethe. Translated by W. Edmondstone Aytoun, D. C. L., and Theodore Martin. pp. 240.

This book forms one of the series of volumes of foreign poetry, which the enterprising publishers have undertaken to issue. Many of the translations appeared several years ago in *Blackwood's Magazine*. They are here collected, with others, constituting a selection from this great German author, that may convey to English readers some impression of his varied genius. This collection will widen the circle of his admirers, by introducing him to many who are unable to read the German. The pieces are of various character and merit—some of them fulfilling the description by Mr. Lewes, Goethe's biographer, "instinct with life and beauty, against which no prejudice can stand." Scarcely any thing in literature, for instance, can surpass "The Doleful Lay of the Wife of Asan Aga." The character of "The Bride of Corinth," however, though a "master-piece," should have excluded it from a place in the collection.

A Key to the Pentateuch. Explanatory of the Text and the Grammatical Forms. By Solomon Deutsch, A. M., Ph. D., Author of "A New Practical Hebrew Grammar." Part I. Genesis. pp. 127.

The "Grammar" of Dr. Deutsch has secured the indorsement of the most distinguished scholars. This "Key" will aid beginners in the study of Hebrew, and will be especially valuable to those who may desire, without the assistance of a teacher, to acquire a knowledge of this somewhat difficult and venerable language.

CHARLES C. CHATFIELD & CO., NEW HAVEN.

Through Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia.

Half Hours with Modern Scientists:—Huxley—Barker—Stirling—Cope—Tyndall.

The papers that form this volume, have all been already noticed in the REVIEW, as parts of the "University Series." The Publishers have done well to unite them in a single volume. They represent different scientific views and tendencies—most of them "scientific heresies." But Stirling's examination of Huxley's "Protoplasm" is worth the cost of the book.

Serving our Generation, and God's Guidance in Youth. Two Sermons, preached in the College Chapel, Yale College, by President Woolsey.

These two sermons, the latter the President's last Baccalaureate, bound in cloth, are marked by the well known intellectual and spiritual characteristics, that have made his discourse so attractive to the students of Yale. *The Action of Natural Selection on Man.* By Alfred Russel Wallace.

I. The Development of Human Races under the law of Selection.

II. The Limits of Natural Selection as applied to Man. No. 6—University Series.

The fundamental doctrine of this pamphlet is the unsupported hypothesis of Darwin—an hypothesis, which, under the latest examinations and siftings, by the best scientific and logical ability, is fast being reduced to its intrinsic absurdity. Even such a paper as this of Mr. Wallace helps on this result—hardly less in the part in which, ardently supporting the theory, he places humanity on the pedestal of brute-nature, out of which it said to have risen, and declares, "Here we see the true grandeur and dignity of man," than in the part in which, tracing the "limits of natural selection," he unintentionally shows the insuperable difficulties of the illogical and impossible hypothesis.

The Elementary Music Reader. A Progressive Series of Lessons, prepared expressly for use in Public Schools, by B. Jepson, Instructor of Vocal Music in the New Haven Public Schools.

More attention ought to be given to music in our schools. This little manual is admirably suited to make instruction in this department both scientific and successful.

JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO., BOSTON.

Thaough J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Sir Walter Scott: The Story of his Life. By R. Shelton Mackenzie. pp. 488.

Dr. Mackenzie's high literary culture, and personal acquaintance with Sir Walter Scott, have peculiarly fitted him for the task he has accomplished in this volume. Taking the large work of Lockhart, as his "main authority," and enriching the record from other sources, correcting details and weaving in varied incidents and anecdotes worthy of preservation, he has presented a most readable and reliable biography of the great genius, the "Wizard of the North." As might be expected from his literary tastes and habits, he has viewed Scott mainly from a literary stand-point, and gives us most comprehensively and thoroughly, an account of that part of his life which is identified with his books. It is a well-arranged and admirable account of his life, and its appearance fully meets the want that suggested its preparation.

Atlantic Essays. By Thomas W. Higginson.

The twelve essays contained in this volume, first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*—the earliest in 1867, and the latest in 1871. The topics take a wide range, and the articles themselves are of very different degrees of

merit. Those which have excited a special interest are, "A Plea for Culture," "Literature as an Art," "Sappho," and "On an Old Latin Text-Book." They are written in good English, and may be regarded as fair exhibitions of the most advanced school of American culture. They are quickening in their effect on the reader, and if we get no large ponderable results, we get good impulses. Those often are our best books, not which put us in possession, in the easiest mode and in the shortest time, of a given number of facts, but those which stir most deeply our intellectual and moral nature. As Emerson would say, these articles are "medicinal and revolutionary."

WOOLWORTH, AINSWORTH & CO., NEW YORK.

A Grammar of the Greek Language. By Alpheus Crosby.

Prof. Crosby's Grammar first appeared in 1841. It was at once adopted by most of the New England Colleges, and ever since has been a favorite with Greek scholars. The edition just issued is a great improvement on the first. Many portions have been re-written, and much valuable philological matter has been added. Without uttering a word in disparagement of other grammars, the following features of Prof. Crosby's recommend it, at least to our respectful attention :

1. The brief historical statements as to the growth of the language, are of great interest and value. In the chapters on the growth of Declension, Comparision and Conjugation, there are materials of linguistic research which the scholar can find in no other volume at his command.

2. The verb is formed on more just and philosophical principles, than in most grammatical systems. Beginning with the simplest form of the root, the whole structure is built up on recognized laws of language. The old method of deriving one form from another because of some resemblance, is false and mechanical. The Tense-signs and Flexible-endings are not arbitrary, but have a significance of meaning, and a vital connection with the root forms of the language.

3. The Rules of Syntax are traced to first principles. Their reason and philosophy are explained. We know of no grammar of any speech, with the single exception of Dr. March's Comparative Grammar, where the Doctrine of Sentences is exhibited so clearly and satisfactorily. The Rules are stated in a singularly compact, yet comprehensive form.

4. The Grammar furnishes matter for the most advanced study of the language. The simplest form may be apprehended by the beginner, while the most thorough and exhaustive examination of the language may be pursued. It is an advantage of the greatest value to retain the same grammar through the whole course of study.

5. The author has introduced much valuable material for philological study. The laws of Gravitation of Sounds, Assimilation, Assibilation, Precession of Vowels, and especially Grimm's Law, are more or less clearly stated and illustrated. With some assistance, even the ordinary scholar may find appliances for investigation in the ever-widening department of

Comparative Philology. The whole spirit and aim of the Grammar are to exhibit language, not as a dead, mechanical structure, but as a science, and worthy a place by the side of the noblest of the modern sciences.

ROBERTS BROTHERS, BOSTON.

English Lessons for English People. By Rev. E. A. Abbott, M. A., and J. R. Seeley, M. A.

This work is the joint product of two well known scholars in literature. The former is the author of several standard educational works, the most scholarly of which is "A Shakspearian Grammar;" the latter has gained a wide reputation as the author of "Ecce Homo." *English Lessons for English People* is designed for those who are already familiar with the principles of the language, but who need some help to write it with taste and exactness. The work is divided into four parts. The first treats of the Etymological character of the language, the second is on Prose and Poetic Diction, the third on Metre, and the fourth on Selection and Arrangement, or the different styles of composition, and the arrangement of the subject matter. Every page is rich with suggestions and with valuable materials for study, but the volume as a whole is wanting in plan. In the hands of a good teacher, it will be a most efficient help in studying our language. An Appendix is given, on Hints on Some Errors in Reasoning. We cannot attach the importance to this part of the work which some critics have given it. For those who are familiar with the standard works on Logic, there is no new help. By those who have not studied some such manual as Whately or Atwater's, the Appendix will neither be appreciated nor understood. We may add, this volume has been most favorably noticed, and cordially received by those interested in these studies, and we believe it will render valuable assistance in a department which is every year claiming greater attention.

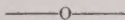
ZIEGLER & M'CURDY, PHILADELPHIA.

Questions of Modern Thought; or Lectures on the Bible and Infidelity. By Drs. McCosh, Thompson, Adams, Schaff, Hague and Haven.

These six Lectures, by distinguished American divines, are a valuable addition to the ever swelling mass of testimony to the Bible and Bible truths. The subjects discussed are the Life of our Lord, The Unity of the Bible, The Advantage of a written Revelation, Christ's Testimony to Christianity, The Self-Witnessing Character of the New Testament Christianity, and Soul: A Positive Entity.

NOTE—We regret that other book notices are unexpectedly crowded out of this number.

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AMERICAN.

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GERMAN.

Biblical and Theological.

THE GERMAN QUARTERLIES.

"Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche"—
"Theologische Studien und Kritiken"—"Jarbücher für Deutsche Theologie"—
"Zeitschrift für Pro-testantismus und Kirche."

NEW BOOKS.

Faithful Unto Death—The Hop Blossoms—Luther at Home—The Bible Commentary, or Speaker's Bible—Systematic Theology—The Elements of Intellectual Science—Nature's Wonders—The House in Town—Jessie's Parrot—Little Norris' Enemy—The Rift in the Clouds—French Bessie—Shall we Know One Another—Stories of Vinegar Hill—Grandfather's Faith—St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians—Diatessaron—The Old Back Room—August and Elvie—Lectures on the Epistle of James—A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament—The Bremen Lectures—Lectures on Satan—Metaphysics, or the Philosophy of Consciousness, Phenomenal and Real—Light Science for Leisure Hours—Poems and Ballads of Goethe—A Key to the Pentateuch—Half Hours with Modern Scientists—Serving our Generation—God's Guidance in Youth—The Action of Natural Selection on Man—The Elementary Music Reader—Sir Walter Scott: The Story of his Life—Atlantic Essays—A Grammar of the Greek Language—English Lessons for English People—Questions of Modern Thought.

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